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ABSTRACT

This document contains the papers delivered at the New England Regional Meeting which focused on the theme of International Perspectives on Nonformal Education. The keynote address provides a state of the art of nonformal education and discusses its successes, limitations, and future challenges. The first group of papers presents philosophical and programmatic concerns of nonformal education. One paper discusses the ideological presumptions of nonformal education. The collaborative process in international nonformal education programs is examined in another paper. A third paper discusses the instructional staff for out of school education and a look at voluntarism. The second group of papers examines nonformal education in various countries and presents case studies of specific nonformal education projects. For example, one paper describes the Village Polytechnic in the rural areas of Kenya as a potential solution to the problem of skyrocketing unemployment of thousands of primary school graduates who are unable to continue their formal education. Another paper discusses the Haiku and the tea ceremony of Japan. Other papers look at nonformal education in Turkey, West Germany, Honduras, Chile, Ghana, Poland, Africa, and Mexico. (Author/RM)

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INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON NONFORMAL EDUCATION

Conference Proceedings
New England Regional Conference
Comparative and International Education Society

May, 1979

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INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON NONFORMAL EDUCATION

New England Regional Conference
Comparative and International Education Society

May, 1979

Organized by:

Division of Community Education,
Springfield College

and

Center for International Education
School of Education
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

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PREFACE

The New England Regional Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society was held on the campus of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, on 3 May, 1979. The conference was co-sponsored by the Division of Community Education, Springfield College, and the Center for International Education, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.

The theme of the conference was "International Perspectives on Nonformal Education." The papers deliverered ranged in topics from the use of traditional art forms and poetry as a medium of nonformal education to the discussion of the philosophical foundations underlying the field. Case studies of specific nonformal education projects helped to heighlight the conference. A total of papers were delivered, all of which are included in their original form in this document. The papers represent the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the organizers. Copies of this publication are available from the Publications Assistant, Center for International Education, Room 285 Hills South, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003 at a price of $5.00. Checks should be made payable to the University of Massachusetts.

The chairpersons of the conference wish to thank those who participated in the day's activities. Special appreciation is expressed to Dean Mario Fantini of the School of Education, UMass, Amherst, and to Dr. David Evans, Director of the Center for International Education for their encouragement, support and participation in the conference, and to Deborah Leonard, Debbie Puchalski and David Kahler of the Center for International Education for their assistance in preparing this document for publication.

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The papers presented in this volume represent the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the organizers of the conference nor those of the Comparative and International Education Society. Permission is hereby granted by the organizers for reproduction and quotation of the papers in this volume.

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NONFORMAL EDUCATION: SUCCESSES, LIMITATIONS AND CHALLENGES

David R. Evans, Director
Center for International Education

The topic of this conference--International Perspectives on Nonformal Education--is most appropriate as we approach the second decade of concentrated interest and investigation of nonformal education. For, it has been precisely these international perspectives which have given definition to the field of nonformal education.

As a term, nonformal education dates back some ten years to an international conference on the topic and a subsequent book by Philip Coombs entitled The World Education Crisis, one of the most commonly referenced early uses of the term nonformal education. At that time, it was just that: a term. The basic reaction to the term was one of, "what is it" and "what does it mean?" There followed a lengthy debate--part of which we shall review here today. In doing so, we shall take a look at the "state of the art" and discuss its successes, its limitations and particularly the challenges which we face.

The years immediately following the appearance of Coomb's book and the emergence of the term of nonformal education were dominated by the academics and their debates about the definition and characteristics of the term. Following the definitional debate came the work of the taxonomy group. Substantial efforts were expended around the world doing case studies and collecting examples of projects, analyzing the examples and charting the findings. These efforts produced a body of literature documenting the long history and traditional roots of nonformal education. Many of us here today participated in this process--the attempt to define nonformal education by finding and analyzing project examples.

Following the work of those trying to categorize different examples of nonformal education came the efforts of organizations like UNICEF, UNESCO and ILO which became involved in pilot projects in nonformal education. Organizations which had been conducting literacy, health education and the many older forms of nonformal education took on new life and new visibility. As one would expect, analysis and evaluations

were carried out on the new pilot projects. The results of the studies encouraged other international assistance organizations such as AID to become involved in funding both smaller and larger activities. Most recently, the World Bank has become involved and this has in a sense provided the ultimate symbol of legitimacy for the nonformal education movement.

Today, we are at the point where there are several large national systems of nonformal education--India, Tanzania, Indonesia, to name only three. In ten years the field has progressed from a term and an idea to the planning and international financing of large-scale national systems. So, in that sense, nonformal education is somewhat of a success story.

In reviewing the history and the current extensive use of nonformal education, it is instructive to look at some of its strengths and weaknesses, some of its successes and some of its limitations in an effort to re-assess whether or not success will threaten the values that are the basis of nonformal education.

Successes

Let us first start with the positive and talk in terms of the successes. The nonformal education movement has forced a significant re-evaluation of the limits of schooling in the sense that the monopoly which schooling held for years has been seriously questioned. At the same time, nonformal education has effectively questioned the assumption that education equals schooling. There has been serious criticism of schools and a substantial reduction in the mystique surrounding schooling.

A second success has been the recognition and legitimacy of the whole non-school education sector. This sector has been with us for years--with people doing things called literacy, agriculture, health, nutrition and family planning. All of these are roots of the current nonformal education movement. In the past, they tended to have relatively low visibility, and a relatively low priority claim on national resources, and they were often working in isolation from each other. One of the major accomplishments of nonformal education has been to focus attention on the whole non-school sector and to bring it into

the limelight--to give it legitimacy and to accord it the attention of the highest levels of government. Almost every government in the Third World today has either a major section of a ministry or a sub-section labeled nonformal education, out-of-school education or something to that effect. This has occurred primarily in the last five to ten years and as such represents the institutionalization of the field of nonformal education, a fact with which some of us may be uncomfortable. In the eyes of others, it is a measure of success.

I think the third important positive result of the nonformal education movement has been a serious re-examination of the roles of schools. When educators were only concerned with the formal school system, the role of the school was rarely challenged. With the emergence of nonformal education as a competitor with the formal school system for scarce resources, "educators and educational planners have been forced to look more deeply at the functions of school in society and examine their role in recruitment and selection as well as their role in support of current social and political structures. The nonformal education movement has provided not only the impetus for such an examination, but has also given us a new vantage point for viewing the formal school system--and for understanding the roles of schools in supporting the status quo or in changing it.

A fourth area of success has been the emergence of a much broader concept of what teaching and learning are and can be. With the nonformal education movement has come the realization that the methods and techniques of learning and teaching are numerous and diverse, that many of them are non-traditional, that all are legitimate.

Nonformal education has permitted the opening up of pedagogical methods and the pedagogical process so that there is a growing acceptance of methodologies which had not found wide usage previously: games, group dynamics, field exercises, schools without walls, schools in the countryside, open universities, etc. While this broadening is not the sole product of nonformal education, it is certainly one of its major characteristics.

A fifth factor which should be considered is that nonformal education has contributed to the development of a tremendous diversity of

educational materials and media for a wide number of uses. These materials and media include not only the electronic media, but also traditional media, i.e., folk media such as drama, dance, puppets and music. As well, there has been an expansion of the printed media: newsletters, wall newspapers, rural newspapers, photoliterature, comic books, compesino newspapers, bicycle libraries, rural libraries, etc. In the field of the electronic media radio has increasingly been used in literacy and nonformal education programs. Cassettes are being used by villagers to record their own activities for discussion and teaching/learning situations. Traditional educational television has found new uses. Video has been used with great success in helping communities tell their own story and then analyze it. Small group techniques have found new expression in role plays, games and simulations and in group dynamics exercises. This expansion has given the learner new control over the technology being used, has allowed for participation in production and granted ownership of the final product. In short, the learner has grown to be the producer of materials while remaining the consumer.

A sixth area which can be termed a point of success for nonformal education has been its role in the re-awakening of awareness and interest in the value of traditional educational modes: apprenticeships; indigenous models of education; and the role of the family, the church, the mosque and the community in the educational processes. Many of these had been subsumed under the formal educational system or replaced by it. Now they are once again being considered as viable alternatives.

I would not want to give the impression that nonformal education has been all success. The field is not without definite limitations. The movement began with a new vision; one which many thought would solve our problems, and more specifically those of the world educational crisis. Ten years later, the crisis is still very much present. While some of the components have changed, the basic situation is essentially the same. In fact, the prospects are worsening as we have clearly reached the limits to the growth of the formal school system after two decades of rapid expansion and accelerated spending on education. Populations continue to grow faster than schools can absorb them. Large numbers of

school leavers cannot find employment--a direct result of the lack of relevant education and training and the economy's inability to absorb the sheer numbers of youth looking for work.

Limitations

Those working in nonformal education have come to realize that nonformal education is not a panacea for the world educational crisis. In the paragraphs which follow I would like to discuss some of the limitations which have emerged from the past decade of work in nonformal education.

One of the reasons why nonformal education appealed to so many educators at the outset was that it appeared that nonformal education might be able to do something about social justice. It was felt that nonformal education could do something more than transfer skills: it might be able to address the issues of social injustice, economic inequality and the imbalances of society. A decade later, nonformal education clearly has not brought about revolution and national reform, nor is nonformal education, even of the most socially aware variety, going to produce major structural change in countries. It may assist in creating an environment conducive to the awareness process, and it may, in fact, have considerable impact on individuals in small groups and specific geographic regions.

A second limitation of nonformal education is that it is seen by many to represent second-rate education. This challenge stems from nonformal education's not having the social charter which formal education has. Nonformal education was conceived of as being functional education; education which, because of its relevance and content, would allow the learner access to new occupations, a better life, and social mobility. But, when social mobility is accorded only through certificates granted by the formal school system, nonformal education cannot produce significant mobility for its clientele.

Thirdly, many thought that nonformal education would be a cheaper way of doing the same thing that formal schools were to have done. This is not true. Nonformal education does not set about to do the same thing that the formal school does: its product is different.

Most nonformal education projects to date have been limited in scope. As they begin to expand, the real costs become more apparent as pilot projects turn into national programs. Differences in costs lie basically in the salaries of staff for projects. In nonformal education, many of the staff have been volunteer in nature. We are all aware of the limitations of voluntarism and as projects begin to expand, the staff costs grow to resemble those of the formal school system.

A fourth area of limitation for nonformal education is that skill training is not the key to improving the lives of rural or urban poor. Skill training does not produce jobs. Instead, it produces individuals with skills who are looking for jobs. Learning the skills is only a small part of the problem, with the key to the problem being how to utilize the skills once one is trained. There is a growing realization that who you train is an important question: if you want to train people in agricultural skills, begin with farmers who already have the land and the desire to remain on the land, or if you are training artisans, think in terms of upgrading the skills of aritsans who are already practicing a craft or trade.

A fifth limitation is the financial one. Where is the money for nonformal education to come from? With formal education as a powerful lobby for its own interests and nonformal education considered as the poor cousin, the already scarce resources earmarked for education become more sought after. There must be more concerted action in studying the relationships between the two sectors and their complementarity since the resources for both often come from the same budget. This is especially true once one moves beyond the realm of pilot projects.

There are theoretical limitations, but these can only be posed in the form of questions, as the evidence is not yet clear. When one looks at the effects of schooling and then at the effects of nonformal education, there appears to be some kinds of things which are not producible through nonformal education: higher levels of abstract or symbolic reasoning which seem to be the product of the kind of extensive exposure to educational processes found only in schools. There is some evidence that suggests that certain kinds of abstract reasoning is difficult, if

not impossible, to produce solely in nonformal education settings. Although the information on this is limited, it does raise questions related to the intellectual development of large segments of a population which is going to be exposed to only nonformal education.

A final limitation of nonformal education which I would like to mention prior to moving on to a discussion of the challenges which lie ahead is the limitation of control over the activity. Nonformal education is a process which can be applied by any number of professionals in a variety of settings. Thus, in a developmental situation, the question arises as to which ministry is in control. For many countries this is a major consideration as one ministry vies with another for control of educational activities. I see one of the movements of the future being the integration of nonformal education with the non-education substance fields like agriculture, health and nutrition.

Challenges

What then, are the challenges, the frontiers of nonformal education today? I see one of the major challenges being the question of how do we deal with expansion of programs. How does one keep the essence of nonformal education--freedom, local autonomy, immediate responsiveness, and client participation--when a project moves from a situation-specific project to a country-wide application? This shift from small, local programs to national projects is also often a shift from private control and private funding to public sponsorship and the use of public tax monies. Can effective programs in nonformal education be run on a national level? Is it possible to set up a national nonformal education program for a country with a population of 100 million? How does one minimize costs at the national level and protect the strengths of nonformal education at the local level? Clearly, the key to these questions lies in some form of decentralization.

A challenge related to project expansion is that of participation. We have talked earlier of client participation or learner participation as one of the successes of nonformal education. When a project is expanded to the national level, how can one safeguard the involvement of the learners in decision making which is going to affect them and their

lives? We have talked about participatory learning materials development, participation in decision making, Frierian style learning groups which decide what they are going to learn, and how they are going to learn it. We have developed community level needs assessment processes--all of these are built around a philosophy of participation.

Is participation just an ideology, or are there good reasons for it? As an illustration, let me cite one study of 36 agricultural projects in Latin America and Africa where it was found that nearly 50% of the difference in success and failure rates could be accounted for by action taken by local farmers. This action had two components: involvement in decision making, and contribution of labor and cash. The study suggests that participation is much more than just a good thing to do and that the need for participation is a practical need, not just an ideological one.

Participation is not easy. It requires resources which individuals often do not have immediately at hand: time, certain kinds of skills on the part of leaders as well as on the part of participants. Participation requires an institutional environment as well as efficient ways in which to deal with the need for accountability for funds and management.

Finally, a word of caution: participation can be abused--it can be used as a process to legitimize the desires of an agency or organization that has no real interest in the community and whose interest resides in its own survival.

A third challenge in nonformal education centers around the amount of planning which is necessary and where that planning should take place. Can and should nonformal education be planned? If so, how can it be planned so as not to destroy local autonomy and the freedoms which make nonformal education: flexibility, relevance to local needs and individual needs? I would advocate what is called minimal planning, planning which takes place at three levels--local, regional and national--and in which three sets of individuals participate. Program planning can be done at the local level by those who are implementing the actual project. Their planning would be facilitated by planning at the regional level, where efforts would be made to coordinate the work of supporting

programs and the various organizations involved. At the national level, program planning would be of the systems planning type.

In advocating minimal planning, I would like to suggest four criteria in the form of questions which could be used to decide how much planning should be done for any particular kind of nonformal education outside the program level: (1) What is the geographical spread of the clientele that are involved in the program? Are people from a number of regions involved? If so, more planning is needed. (2) What is the ratio of government funding to private funding for the program? The more private funding there is the less the government should have to do with the planning of the program. The greater the government financing, the greater the rationale for more government planning. (3) What amount of scarce technical skills or expensive capital goods are going to be required for the project? If a series of vocational schools are a part of the plan, more planning is in order. If risks, especially costs, are high, more planning is in order. (4) What is the estimated duration of the need for the program? If the program is long-term, then more systematic planning is in order. If the program is short-term in nature, less planning is in order.

A fourth challenge is in the area of evaluation of nonformal education. What kind of evaluation is appropriate for nonformal education? One of the major problems with evaluation in the past is that it has been a field controlled by professionals--professionals who are mainly interested in external criteria which let them know whether or not the job is being done. Is the educational offering significant? Is it reliable according to standards set by professional evaluators working in large-scale formal education settings? I submit that these criteria are not valid, or are at least questionable in terms of many small nonformal education projects. Should an evaluation be done at all? If evaluation is necessary, can it be done at a much lower level? Might it not be better to think in terms of developing evaluation techniques which meet the needs of programs and of the clients in them?

The last challenge which I see for nonformal education is its future in the developing countries. Where is nonformal education going--and how can it expand? In the last decade we have seen an unprecedented

expansion of nonformal education as well as formal education. Many countries have pushed their budgets to the breaking point--in some instances 25% of the national budget is being spent for education. As the realities of restricted spending in education have become apparent, many countries have dropped their plans for universal primary education or have moved their deadlines well toward the end of this century. With only 60% to 70% of the school-age population passing through some form of primary education, there remains a rather large portion of youth not having any exposure to schooling. Is nonformal education supposed to take care of them?

What options exist which seem to be particularly feasible as well as technically rational?

1. Basic education to fulfill minimal learning needs as a non-school alternative means that one will provide basic literacy, numeracy, and family life and health instruction through nonformal education. Technically, this makes sense and is within the reaches of many countries. A major problem emerges though: by going this route, a group of individuals has been guaranteed permanent second class citizenship. In so doing, a structured society is set up, one in which there is a part which goes to school and a part which does not. For the latter, the provision is that of a minimal package and at their own expense while the maximum package is being provided to the other group--at state expense and ultimately at the expense of the non-school sector.

2. A merger of the formal and nonformal education sectors into a technical rational model provides for one system in which one can look at the full range of learning needs as well as at all possible delivery modes and make the most appropriate match. It sounds good, but in reality, would be exceptionally hard to carry out. Implementing such a program would mean that one would have to unlink the strong channels and ties which exist between the formal school system and the job market, a task which is nearly impossible excepting in revolutionary societies.

3. A third option is the development of non-competitive nonformal education, which, in effect, is a low profile, small-scale alternative. What it implies is not working with the same populations the formal

schools serve. Nonformal education in this approach must avoid competition with the schools and work with adults or with older youth who are already finished with the schools. Implicit in such an option is the need to build relationships with other sectors: agriculture, health, community development and labor. Access to the resources of those sectors in building linkages for nonformal education programs is necessary and will, at best, be modest. This is perhaps not the most exciting of options, but without a doubt, the most realistic.

The past decade has been one of tremendous activity, experimentation and learning for those working in the field of nonformal education. It is obvious that there is a future for nonformal education, but it may be a future that involves some changes . . . maybe even dropping the term nonformal education. I would like to think that nonformal education is an essential part of the total education sector and that without it the sector would be weaker, much less efficient, and without much of the stimulating dialogue created by nonformal education.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION:

PHILOSOPHICAL AND PROGRAMMATIC CONCERNS

THE IDEOLOGICAL PRESUMPTIONS OF NON-FORMAL EDUCATION*

by

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The purpose of this paper is to analyze the ideological presumptions underlying the purpose and process of non-formal education. It is my contention that we must keep non-formal education's ideological commitment in the foreground. Both the purpose of non-formal education and its process, including its goals and techniques, are directed by such commitments. Unfortunately, for some inexplicable reason the ideology directing non-formal education remains unexamined. Freire's belief, which we once felt to be the heart of non-formal education's purpose, has become confused with the predominance of Western beliefs about the legitimate process of implementation. However, we must delineate how each of these ideological positions has affected our ideas on the purpose and the process of non-formal education. Clarifying this will, hopefully, provide us with a recognition of the inherent difficulties of non-formal educational strategies and a more comprehensive understanding of its potential utility for educational development.

In discussing ideological positions on non-formal education, this writer is not trying to deal with the question of whether we should be involved in educating a group of people; our business assumes this involvement. In addition, I am not particularly concerned with the question of what we are teaching them either. Such ideological biases are already obvious. What concerns me are those ideological prejudices that are related to the process of non-formal education. Here, in my mind, we have a hidden bias--one that has in the context of the second development decade perverted the original purpose of the non-formal education enterprise.

The first development decade, with its emphasis on Western models of formal education, ended with the abject realization that we had failed to provide the kind of progress needed and/or desired by the developing

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*Appreciation is expressed to my Irish colleague, Mr. Terence O'Connor, a Ph.D. candidate in the Social Foundations of Education at the University of Virginia, for his insights and several discussions on the topic of this paper.

countries. One lesson from this experience seemed apparent: education must be conducted in terms of the needs of the indigenous population and not in terms of the developing agency. Non-formal education strategies seemed to offer a direction that was responsive to this lesson. Nevertheless, there were dramatic changes from the previous decade. Brembeck, during the 1970's, suggested that "roughly half of the present educational effort in developing countries is in the non-formal sector."[1] The growth of non-formal education was primarily due to the emphasis of its programs which can be described as:

> They tend to arise in response to immediate needs; they are usually related to action and use; they tend to be short-term rather than long; they have a variety of sponsors, both public and private; and they tend to be responsive to local community requirements. More importantly, non-formal education shows strong potential for getting at the human condition of those most likely to be excluded from the formal schools, the poor, the isolated, the rural, the illiterate, the unemployed and the underemployed, for being carried on in a context of limited resources, and for being efficient in terms of time and cost.[2]

Therefore, non-formal education in all these aspects offered a system sensitive to the needs of indigenous people.

The possibilities opened by this new educational approach permitted new pedagogical creeds to come into vogue within the educational mainstream. The most popular of these strategies was that proposed by Paulo Freire. His arguement was that education should center around the learner rather than with the institution. The attempt was to raise the learner's consciousness rather than impose social norms. This provided a theoretical resolution to the nagging questions of the lack of responsiveness in formal education raised during the first development decade. It can be claimed that Freire's pedagogy became an accepted ideological position on the purpose of non-formal education. The concepts of Freire are evident in a prevailing definition of non-formal education as: ". . . non-school activities whose major purpose is to promote in people . . . the development of skills, knowledge, and behaviors which will enable them to <u>improve their life situations</u>."[3] Implicit with this definition of the Center for International Education at the University of Massachusetts is my concur-

rence that the characteristics of non-formal education should focus on the sense of community interaction, emphasize relevance and humanism, and be pliable in a variety of settings.[4]

Acceptance of Freire's humane purpose of non-formal education may also be a commitment to radical or even revolutionary social change. The emphasis on liberating self-determinism not only creates ideas of social development that may be contradictory to the status quo norms but also instigates educational directions that may well be outside existing educational traditions. In short, a pedagogue that allows freedom must let learners freely proceed as they choose. This non-directive approach will cause two practical problems. First, developing countries and development agencies do not tend to support radical changes in the status quo; Freire's non-formal education asks them to be willing to do so. Second, governments, agencies, or other donors who provide funds for educational development like to have standards by which to judge the effectiveness of their investment and efforts. Yet, the open-ended, self-determination conceived by Freire may not be capable of providing a neat and satisfactory evaluation based on traditional standards. Faced by these basic problems, non-formal education has not followed the idea of Freire's purpose. The old biases from Western educational assumptions, including traditional commitment to the preservation of status quo, that served to undermine the first development decade have crept into the non-formal eudcation system and threaten it with similar failure.

The difference in purpose is most apparent in the process by which non-formal education is implemented. Once a country or community decides to institute non-formal education, they must decide between two possible processes. The first option would be to accept the Paulo Freire approach, emphasizing self-determined liberation. The other choice would be to institute non-formal education through a technological process dominated by Western perceptions of educational development, as, for instance, agents like A.I.D. and The World Bank who have established procedures for their projects which routinize the delivery of educational services. The selection of one process or the other will dramatically affect the kind of education being provided.

In order to comprehend the differences between these processes, we must briefly address the social nature of education. All educational

efforts are basically what Bock and Papagiannis call a "socialization agency with social features."[5] Gould gives us a more definite frame of reference when he refers to the ideology of a group of people as "beliefs and concepts which . . . explain complex specific social phenomena."[6] Education, thus, may be described as a means to alter the standing beliefs and concepts of some aggregate of people. My point here is that the type of education people will receive will depend on the way these sets of beliefs are to be changed.

Our choice of process will direct the change to be made in the set of beliefs held by the learning group. Paulo Freire's process encourages these people to redefine the pedagogues' new ideas into their existing schemes; it makes them the ultimate determiner of how these ideas are integrated into their lifestyle. If however, we bring in Western ideas as a system to be copied, as an ideal conception of the world which is to be adopted by them, then we must have a different non-formal education process.

Given the Freire purpose, it would seem apparent that Freire's process would follow. Yet, in the face of the political conflict and educational traditions noted, this has not been the case. Non-formal educators began with Paulo Freire's purpose of benefitting the learners, but have relied to a great extent on Western technological processes in the selection of learning environments, delivery of services, and assessment of outcomes. This can be distinguished by examining the approaches to collaboration employed using the Freire model when we look at the ideal of what a non-formal education project might look like and how it is changed in the interaction of the people involved. The communications technology utilized here, for example, is one of a balance between local emphasis, participation, learner-centered orientation, and reliance upon indigenous folk media and customs in the form of cultural traditions.[7] This focus on purpose is radically different in many of the non-formal education projects funded by agencies like A.I.D. or The World Bank. The Freire purpose becomes lost in this type of technological implementation process. It is at this juncture that many of the projects of the second development decade have had their purpose altered by what has become accepted as the technology of the non-formal process. In these projects the purposes become subsumed in the process whereby negotiations for

initial funding is a belabored activity going through innumerable cycles. The locus of control for loans and technical assistance is largely out of the hands of the developing countries and involved in the power politics of external agencies. What is to be taught and how it is to be taught are decided outside the learners' locale. The process of collaboration, therefore, is radically different and reminiscent of some of the failures of the first development decade.

For another instance of how the non-formal process has altered the purpose, one can look at the evaluation demands. The emphasis on assessment of project effectiveness is imposed as a dimension of the relative success of the non-formal activities. This approach surplants the purposiveness of the Freire strategy. It attempts to judge outcome by standards that may have little relevance to what the learners had gained from the instruction that helped improve their life situation. Traditional evaluation strategies would have to be seriously revamped if they are to be truly interested in the success of self-determined people rather than caught up in justifying funds that merely aid these people in becoming Westernized.

In the presently accepted processes of collaboration and evaluation, it becomes apparent that we follow an ideological commitment other than the one we originally began with. There is in this second and approaching third development decade too much excess baggage of the technologizing which shifts the intent, emphasis, and outcomes of non-formal education away from an indigenous and largely self-determined premise to that of an outside standard or institutionalization. The ideology of non-formal education as process rather than purpose occurs, therefore, and it relates more to the existing economic and social mobility patterns emphasized in formal education. The encumbrances of excess baggage in this ideology really viscerate the purposes that non-formal education should serve.

It is my hope that by referring to the ideological presumptions in purpose and process in non-formal education we can retain the vitality of this educational movement into the 1980's without too much excess baggage.

Notes and References

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PARADIGMS WITHOUT PARAMETERS?

by

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When I first read the theme for the discussions at this conference, the disturbing thought came to me that I really did not know what the phrase "non-formal education" meant. The reason for my distress was that I found myself wondering what, indeed, the phrase formal education meant. And, I asked myself further, would there be any need for a concept known as "formal education" were it not for the fact that there evidently exists, simultaneously, what must be an equally powerful and equally effective system of informal education? Then, too, "informal" obviously does not mean the same thing as "non-formal"; and my intuition tells me that neither of these two words is intended to arouse in one's mind uneasing thoughts of formless-ness. While wallowing from mire to mire in these ruminations, it occured to me that the firmest foundation upon which to proceed--and I find myself at the point of wondering if there are any firm foundations--would be to consider the definition, the nature, and the processes of formal education, in order that I might be in a position better to appreciate why many people now choose to emphasize the importance of the counterbalancing concept of nonformal education.

It is apparent, first of all, that formal education implies some kind of conformity to a pattern, to a system, to a corpus of expectations and aspirations. Trouble is, though, that informal education--the phrase so often used in describing the educational processes that take place in "primitive" or "undeveloped" cultures--implies, likewise, that there be tacit and/or explicit conformity to patterns, systems, expectations, and aspirations. Therefore, both formal education and informal education must have something to do with processes of shaping, of molding, of "forming" a young person into some kind of image, or into some kind of effective participant in, and contributor to, the common weal. It follows, thus, that formal education, definitely and by intent, is a formative process.

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Two questions quickly come to mind. Is there now, in the United States in 1979, any clearly perceived and clearly accepted consensus regarding what the end-product of this formative process is supposed to look like, or act like, or think like? Secondly, does the clientele--i.e., the student body--clearly perceive and accept that this process and product is valuable, is meaningful, and is worth the effort?

In response to the second question, to judge from the record of some dozen or more centuries of Western culture's efforts to educate its young, these efforts do not appear to have been received with unrestrained enthusiasm on the part of the consumers, the clientele. On the contrary, so-called "formal" education has been unable to avoid overtones, or undertones, of unpleasantness, of coercion, and has appeared to have encouraged a wide variety of avoidance behaviors on the part of the consumers. You will recall that Plato was well on to this problem: All of those "unenlightened" creatures down there in the cave, eyes avidly glued to the shadows on the TV--fat, dumb, and happy in ignorarce--did not take kindly to the suggestion that they "turn the eyes of their souls" toward "the light" of pure knowledge, nor did they welcome any efforts to unchain their heads so that they could have the opportunity to . . . to "enlarge their perspectives," as it is so euphemistically phrased today. So loathe were they to being unchained, so the story goes, that there was active hostility toward their mentors, even violence. Times don't seem to have changed: over the course of these centuries, to educate, from educere, to lead out, evidently has applied also to a process of pulling out, of extracting--very much like teeth. In this light, one can well understand why both doctor and patient might take an active interest in the concept of non-formal education!

In response to the first question, regretfully I submit that there is in the United States today no societal consensus concerning the nature and the end-product of this supposedly so important formative process, nor is there any consensus concerning the value and effectiveness of the process itself. To make matters a bit worse, it is increasingly apparent that today's generation of learners, including those of college age, is well apprised of the lack of cohesiveness "out there": it should come as no surprise, therefore, that so many young people are

increasingly skeptical, jaundiced, and indifferent, toward the meaning and value of their schooling. In other words, they have received a message which the older generation has been unsuccessful in veiling from them: the old order of education, an order comfortably--yet, even complacently--assumed to have been effectively formative, has now deteriorated, to judge from prevailing public attitudes, to a meaningless de-formation wherein formalism is substituted for form--overlain, one might add, with an oppressive atmosphere of compulsory attendance.

One major task of "formal" education--and many people, including Plato, would argue that it is the major task--is to provide for the younger generation patterns of enculturation. (This phrase carries a credit-line to anthropologist Ruth Benedict, who titled one of her books Patterns of Culture.) Now, the educational heritage of Europe and of the United States has placed much emphasis upon the importance of enculturation and upon the "moral obligation," if you will, to see to it that this enculturation does take place. In fact, this emphasis appears in the very words which the Germans and the French have used to define and to denote the educational process. The German word Bildung and its companion verb bilden denote and connote the concept of "forming" and of "shaping"--the formation and shaping of a character and intellect capable of contributing to, and hence preserving and enhancing, the Germanic heritage and Kultur. Likewise, the French words most frequently used in connection with educational practices and process--enseignement, and the verb enseigner--are even more striking in this regard, for these words mean, literally, a process of enstamping, a process which--so the educational authorities and the older generation intend--will forever enstamp upon the younger generation's psych-mind-spirit (conveniently integrated within that untranslatable French word esprit) a kind of hallmark indicating that the young person has been trained up to be aware of, to appreciate, and to take pride in possessing, what the French do take with great pride and seriousness--culture générale. In France, then this enstamping process has been a matter gravely undertaken, a process never to be undertaken capriciously nor regarded casually. Such a process of enculturation is designed to ensure that "patterns of culture" will indeed be maintained, appreciated, and respected--toujours--pour la gloire de la France.

Be it understood, of course, that the German and French systems of education have fallen short (as Plato would have predicted), in actual practice, of attaining these goals. A misplaced, distorted equating of the concept of Kultur with the concept of das Herrenvolk led the Germans badly astray, under Adolf Hitler's banner.

With regard to the United States, one could argue that here the emphasis appears to be much less on enculturation and acculturation than on mere instruction. In business, in the military, and even in colleges and universities, we refer to our teachers as instructors. Clearly, then, we are a nation that wants to be instructed so that we can master the necessary skills and get on with the job. Such an attitude is thoroughly consistent with the kind of pragmatism that William James had in mind when he coined the phrase, the "cash value"of an idea or concept. By extension, thus, we are a people interested in the cash value of education, more than what education might accomplish in "shaping up" our character.

This distinction between enseignement and instruction may be overdrawn, but in any event the idea of enseignement, insofar as it encompasses the importance, culturally, of enculturation and familiarization with, and acceptance of, generally recognized value-systems, adds a dimension to educational endeavors that will contribute greatly toward making the entire enterprise meaningful both to the purveyors and to the consumers. Consequently, the main thrust of any society's system of "formal" education is to clarify, to preserve, and to propagate these value-systems. And it will succeed in this mission if and only if it demonstrably testifies to these values in every aspect and phase of its day-to-day operations. Thus, formal, institutionalized educational agencies serve as nothing more nor less than as paradigms: exemplars of socio-cultural values; exemplars of hopes and aspirations made manifest; providers of patterns for social enculturation and for intellectual cultivation. In the light of this thesis, then, once a country's institutionalized educational system loses its very sense of serving as a model or as a pattern, pari passu, it has lost its reason for being: no longer able, or willing, to serve as a pattern or paradigm, so-called "formal" education becomes devoid of form, hence, devoid of purpose, hence, meaningless. No wonder that demoralization sets in.

Let me forestall, if I can, one possible point of contention. One

could argue that there is nothing necessarily "wrong" in providing a wide range of "patterns," all encompassed under the rubric of "formal" education. OK--provided that these are considered as sub-patterns, so to speak, all of which are reasonably congruent with, or can be regarded as identifiable facets of, the overarching socio-cultural value system. Permit me to carry this argument one step further, with an assist from John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause and, incidentally, a former member of my department at Mount Holyoke College. In all of his books Gardner stresses the urgent need for consensus, for cooperation, for sharing of values, and for living and working, not at cross-purposes, but for common purposes. Two of his comments are appropriate to include here:

> It is extremely difficult to preserve the idea of social responsibility within agglomerations of people who have lost a sense of community.[1]
>
> . . . in any society which functions effectively some measure of consensus does exist. Without it, the society would simply fly to pieces. No set of laws could prevent chaos in a society that lacks rough agreement on certain moral assumptions.[2]

It is increasingly apparent that the consensus-fabric of our United States culture is in the process of unravelling. Obviously, the effects of this unravelling and fraying will have repercussions upon the country's educational system, educational institutions, and educational principles and values, goals and objectives. The concept of a "formal" education, in the sense that these efforts serve as a paradigm of the entire culture's corpus of values and meanings, becomes an anachronism, a "form" only, a shell lacking substance. I am hazarding the guess, therefore, that this is the main reason why so many of our country's public school students--and so many of their teachers, too--are "turned off" and are turning away from any belief in, or confidence in, the fact that traditional, "formal" education to which they are exposed will prove to be valuable or relevant. And I am guessing, further, that were this situation not the case, the very concept of today's deliberations--non-formal education--would never have entered anyone's mind. Parenthetically, it might be interesting to determine the semantic difference, if any, between non-formal education and a-formal education.

The idea of a society's value-system unravelling, the idea of cultural dissolution, is not particularly exciting or exhilarating to contemplate. In fact, one doubtlessly might prefer not to contemplate these prospects at all, in the same way that one simply does not contemplate at all the idea of sailing a boat under full sail and with full wind directly on to the shoals of Bermuda. Just possibly, though, these contemplations could be undertaken optimistically: one or two candles within the labyrinth are more cheerful than none at all. With this kind of optimism in mind, let us take a quick glance at one or two features of the endemic cultural malaise that is threatening to paralyze the paradigm of "formal" education.

Some of these facets appear with disturbing regularity in the headlines. Last fall, for example, the lead article on the front page of the Sunday New York Times (12 November 1978) carried the headline: "Deep Government Disunity Alarms Many U.S. Leaders." John Gardner was one of those quoted. The article stated that Gardner "says the nation is being whipsawed by a multiplicity of special interest groups," resulting in what Gardner termed a "paralysis in national policymaking." In this same vein, one could argue that in a culture that is not in the process of unravelling, there would be no need for anyone to coin the phrase "credibility gap." Nowadays the phrase is on everyone's lips, because no one any more believes anything that anyone says or writes, be the subject Three Mile Island, oil company profits, pain-relievers, or deodorants. That lying is now an accepted way of life--part of our contemporary political and economic mores--and that young aspirants to business careers would do well to become adept at lying, was blatantly clear in an article in the Business Section of the New York Times one day this past January. Seems that there is a course at the Harvard Business School in which students are actually trained in effective ways of concealing, distorting, and contorting information, or in fabricating carefully phrased misrepresentations in order to land contracts, get orders, persuade the consumer, and the like. Seen in this kind of light, traditional, "formal" education simply does not reflect, nor can it cope with, these new realities of life. By the same token, "bookishly" oriented teachers of English find themselves unable, emotionally, intellectually, and temperamentally to cope with McLuhan-esque information systems where the focus is upon oral-aural, visual, short attention-span media.

* * *

The following statement, which I first read more than a quarter of a century ago, may serve as a useful compendium of the major dimensions of our current dilemmas and controversies in matters of educational practice and policy:

> It is clear that there should be renewed attention to legislation about education and that education should continue to be sponsored by and supported by the state, as a matter of utmost civic necessity. But consideration must be given to the following questions: What constitutes education, and what is the proper way to be educated? At present there are differences of opinion as to the things that the young ought to learn, either with a view to developing character and integrity, or with a view to ensuring the best kind of life as an adult; nor is it clear whether young people's studies should be regulated more with regard to intellectual development or with regard to character development. And confusing questions arise concerning the education that currently prevails, and it is not at all clear whether pupils should engage in practical studies that will be useful in earning a living, or that will stress values clarification, or that will focus upon the liberal arts--for all of these views have won support of many judges. And nothing is agreed as regards what course of studies will be most conducive to human virtue, for, to start with, all people do not honor the same virtue, so that they naturally hold different opinions as to the proper training in virtue.

Despite the contemporary ring of this passage, it actually was written more than two millenia ago--by Aristotle, in his Book VIII of his Politics.[3] And I must confess that I have doctored it a bit--changed a word or phrase here and there--but not very many! The challenge that immediately comes to mind is the problem of trying to explain to ourselves how it has come to pass that more than twenty centuries of so-called human "progress" have obviously resulted in no progress at all, at least in this matter of educational policy. Note that Aristotle says that when there is no agreement upon any kind of ultimate value-system, it logically follows that "nothing is agreed" regarding which educational "exercises"--i.e., the curriculum--should be viewed as most

worthy of a student's time and study, nor can there be anything but "confusing questions" concerning whether or not the educational enterprise is achieving, or even has in view, any worthwhile purposes.

On the other hand, however, it could be illuminating--in a candle-in-the-labyrinth sense--to realize that human history, and writ small, the "human career" of each of us (to use Robert Ulich's phrase), is characterized by--even defined--by our unremitting attempts, not to "solve," really, but to cope with an unending, only partly comprehensible skein of antinomies--those "dialectical contradictions" which Plato felt will forever stretch our human intellectual capacities to the utmost. Spanish philosopher Salvador de Madariaga once stated, with an insight both disarming and brilliant, that whereas it is customary to think of our human career as some kind of task-oriented exercise in which we proceed to go through life "solving" problems--are at least with a "problem solving" frame of mind, à la William James and John Dewey--in actuality the reality of human existence operates the other way around: these dialectical opposites and contradictions are always present to confront us--past,present, and future--and it is the process of coping with them that "solves" us, because, if I recall De Madariaga's argument correctly, it is precisely this process that defines us as human beings.

Writ large, at the socio-cultural level, we find Yale historian-philosopher F.S.C. Northrop suggesting, in The Meeting of East and West, that one major dialectical problem designed, as it were, to "solve" us all, throughout the world in this century and the next, is that of coping with the "coincidence of opposites" which must occur in the mandatory and inevitable meeting of Eastern and Western and African cultures.

Looking specifically at the West, and at the United States in particular, I suggest that one of our most pressing dialectical problems is the problem of how to cope with hyper-pluralism. In an earlier paper,[5] I argued that hyper-pluralism is a new, multi-faceted challenge to our culture, a challenge from which there is no turning away; and I argued, further, that the impact of hyper-pluralism upon the educational enterprise could be devastating.

The speed with which information and news is processed and distributed; the speed with which we now can move from one place and culture, from one-socio-economic-political scene to another; growth of population;

increasing impaction of human beings in urban and metropolitan areas; unavoidable confrontations between persons and personalities, between diametrically opposed points of view and life-styles; unwanted intrusions upon, and invasions of, one's privacy and one's psyche--with these new facets come new problems, and we just have not developed, because we do not even know yet, the kinds of coping mechanisms we require. John Gardner asks us to reflect on one disturbingly frequent manifestation of this problem:

> How many times have we seen a major American city helpless in the face of grave municipal problems, while every possible solution is blocked by one or another powerful union, commercial interest, or political element. Each has achieved veto power over a piece of any possible solution, as no one has the power to solve the problem. Thus in an oddly self-destructive conflict, the parts wage war against the whole. Far from being a minor dilemma, this is the central problem of pluralism today, and one of the emerging problems of an increasingly interdependent world.

Same kind of situation, he says, as trying to play tennis "under eight feet of water."[6]

* * *

Turning now to the necessary relationship between paradigms and parameters: So far, this discussion has attempted to demonstrate that "formal" education, as traditionally viewed and undertaken, can be considered one of a culture's important paradigms, in the sense of providing models and patterns of thinking and of behavior, such as will ensure adequate, effective enculturation, consistent with the culture's umbrella of values, mores, traditions, aspirations, and the like. Now, implicit in all of these ill-defined and to some extent non-definable terms is an element of constant, abiding identity--not a static sameness, but identity in the same sense that a person possesses throughout his or her life a constant, abiding identity; or in the sense that a tennis court elicits in our mind's eye a constant, identifiable shape and structure and protocol, regardless of whether it is located here in Amherst or in Casablanca. It is our secure, certain knowledge that these degrees of constancy do exist--that we will not be expected to play in eight

feet of water--that gives us confidence to think and to act, knowing that our immediate, personal world, and our larger, cultural world does possess form and substance, and that we can therefore make our own identifiable mark on it, and thus, pari passu, be known and identified within our culture. In the final analysis, is not this one of the chief reasons why we have heretofore felt rather comfortable with the concept of "formal schooling"?

It does make sense, then, to term these germ-and-substance components a culture's or a society's parameters. In fact, could not one define a culture as nothing more nor less than an inventory of its parameters.

There are numerous definitions of the word parameter, and almost in all cases the definitions depend upon mathematics for examples and illustrations. Essential to the concept is the notion of a "variable constant," i.e., some attribute or characteristic that would apply, in the sense of identifying, to all components of one or another statistical population or group. For example, in the mathematical equation $y = \theta x^2$, a general equation representing a "family" of parabolas (note that sociological term, "family"), θ is allowed to vary; but one can always count on some kind of θ being in the picture. Even further, it is essential that there be a θ in the picture. Thus, θ is the parameter; in any given case, it is a constant; but it can vary--and is expected to vary--from case to case.

When talking in terms of parameters, be they mathematical or socio-cultural, one never engages in the process of defining the parameters; the problem is to identify them. It is precisely this process of identifying our socio-cultural parameters that strikes me as being a rather urgent task of educational practitioners and policy-makers at the present time. An equally important task is to figure out how to behave and how to react in the event that one finds that some of the old standbys may be fading from the scene and no longer can be taken for granted as providing well-springs for judgment and for behavior. The task will involve identifying and analyzing both traditional and contemporary parameters--taking the pulse, as it were, of the Welt-anschauung of the culture as a whole. There may be come surprises. Supposing, for instance, that some of the "new" parameters turn out, in essence, to be anti-societal.

Any phenomenon, either in mathematics or in sociology, that conjures up notions of simultaneous variation and constancy cannot help but be intriguing to contemplate and cannot help but provide provocative food for thought. The ancient Greeks were masters of this art of juxtaposing seeming opposites--so competent, in fact, that their word for this literary and intellectual feat, oxymoron, has remained in our vocabularies. Parenthetically, it may be interesting to note that Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in Emile, made apt use of oxymoron when he invited us to consider with him ways of ensuring that the education of children will take place within an atmosphere of "well-regulated liberty."

In hopes that I'll be proven wrong, I'm entertaining the suspicion that this concept of parameter, in its socio-cultural sense, is now in the process of switching its oxymoron to read from right to left, instead of from left to right: in place of the right-to-left concept of "variable constants," we seem to be in a position, increasingly, of having to cope with this parameter's obverse--constant variation.

It'll be difficult to establish one's bearing in these murky waters. One will be asking oneself: "How does any kind of life make sense in an atmosphere of constant variation?" The left-to-right parameter, "variable constants," provides a measure with which to define culture; but the obverse version, "constant variation," defines, correspondingly, non-culture. Whatever this new concept is, it cannot be expected to exhibit socio-cultural integrity, nor identity, nor a unique, discernible character.

A couple of years ago, one of my good friends, a native of California, and a flag-waving Californian at heart, noted, on the verge of her return home after several years of living in "staid, tradition-bound New England," that she would be returning to the "throw-away culture"--her exact words--of the West Coast: throw-away bottles, cars, diapers, traditions, religious beliefs, moral and ethical standards, wives, husbands, children, parents--the whole bit. She sounded worried. I thought to myself at the time that it was a misnomer: it was not a "throw-away culture" that she was describing: it was a "culture thrown away." Reading from right to left, don't you see?

* * *

In conclusion, a brief and by no means exhaustive inventory of some of these parameters which we may well have taken so much for granted that we do not even recognize their slipping away from us. Here are a few, listed in no particular order of importance or priority: family, neighborhood, community, consensus, shared concerns, shared values, and even faith, hope, and charity.

In the case of the family, author-journalist Jane Howard attempts, in her best-selling book, Families, a redefinition of this age-old parameter, to include any and all groupings of people who feel that they need and want and can tolerate each other's company, even if only for brief, transient periods. From reading her book, one gathers that she is uncertain, at this juncture, if this new definition will replace the traditional parameter; but the fact that she felt obliged to report on this problem indicates that she is aware that far-reaching changes in the concept of "the family" have taken place.

Regarding neighborhoods and neighbors: more than one urban apartment-house dweller has stated to me that they do not want, or care, to know who the people are in their apartment complex. It's not necessary or important, they say, because, well, people move in and out so fast that it is a waste of time to make the effort to get to know anyone. Also, I get the impression that there are lots of people who covet their anonymity, and that, therefore, to be known to others is to suffer some kind of invasion of privacy.

Organized religions, with their insistence upon adherence to certain "absolute" moral and ethical standards appear more and more hard pressed to merchandise their codes of conduct. "They're out of touch with reality" is the verdict of a significant fraction of the younger generation, and even of the not-so-young. Remember, though, that it was institutionalized faith, the recognized power of organized religions, and the multitude of the faithful, that justified the placing of that parameter "In God We Trust" on our nation's currency.

Shared concerns, and consciousness of shared values. Historian Edith Hamilton, writing in The Greek Way to Western Civilization, provides a useful insight:

> To us a man's character is that which is peculiarly his own; it distinguishes each one from the rest.

> To the Greeks it was a man's share in qualities that all men partake of; it united each one to the rest. We are interested in people's special characteristics, the things in this or that person which are different from the general. The Greeks, on the contrary, thought what was important in a man were precisely the qualities he shared with all mankind.[7]

Now, if a culture took it upon itself to devote an inordinate and one-sided attention to these individual, "special characteristics," the culture quite conceivably could find itself in a kind of cul-de-sac: everyone would be so preoccupied in paying attention solely to themselves and to their own development, and to their own problems, and to their own game-plan, that it wouldn't really make much sense to describe the sum total of these individuals as constituting a society, for the simple reason that such an agglomeration of hyper-individuals would be far too self-centered to want to discern any dimensions of inter-personal relationships, or any parameters of common social concerns. Such a congeries of atomized individuals is just that: a mass of self-seeking particles devoid--if one will permit me to strain this chemical metaphor a bit--of any degree of socio-cultural "bonding" or cohesiveness.

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that in our current "how to do it" culture there has arisen a recent spate of books on this subject of how one effectively can insulate oneself from civic, social, political, and interpersonal involvement--in other words, to ensure that one can go through life non-committed, non-related, non-involved, non-attached--désengagé. In the October, 1976 issue, Time magazine's section on "Behavior" noted several how-to-cope-with-the-modern-world best sellers and listed among the major themes of these books the following: (1) "Man in his natural state is happy. It is society (culture, laws, social expectations) that makes him unhappy." (2) "Love of self is the basic task of life. It brings a sense of worth and immunizes against sorrows, even the death of a friend or relative." (3) "Don't try to change society; regulate yourself so that society doesn't bother you." And a fourth theme: "Each person is responsible for his or her own happiness and not anybody else's." Remember, please, that the books espousing these points of view were best sellers, a fact which indicates clearly enough that a willingness to share societal values and concerns is waning, and that

a significant proportion of the new cogniscenti prefers to adopt a set of personal parameters that, as I suggested above, can only be regarded as anti-societal. When John Donne writes that "no man is an island unto himself," he assuredly does not mean to imply that one abdicate the responsibility for housekeeping one's own island. In fact, this awareness of shared responsibility would ensure that he, and we, would be the first to advocate lending a helping hand--a willing and concerned hand--to other islanders' problems--you know, sewage, oil spill, fishing grounds . . . St. Paul, too, would groan were he to learn that so many of us, nowadays, appear so blissfully--if that is the appropriate word--unaware that "the whole creation liveth and groaneth together."

The team of psychiatrists that made it a point to interview every one of the United States military personnel reseased from the prisons of war in North Korea learned some rather disturbing facts. Thirty-eight percent of the United States prisoners of war died in captivity in North Korea--the highest prisoner-of-war mortality rate in our country's history. A large and significant proportion of these deaths were not due to starvation or to torture or to other kinds of inhuman treatment at the hands of the communists. According to testimony in these psychiatric interviews, hundreds of these soldiers and airmen died because they lacked faith and hope--two of our culture's faith-of-the-fathers parameters--and because they knew that they could expect no charity from the minds and hearts of their fellow prisoners, fellow prisoners, who, later on, in the interviews, would admit that whether or not this guy or that guy died of sickness or exposure (after being thrown out of the hut by other prisoners into 30 below zero weather) was "none of my business." "I did not want to get involved."

Now, "involvement" is a necessary ingredient in families, neighborhoods, and communities. By the way, even Jean-Jacques Rousseau found himself forced to concede that the family is an essential socio-cultural parameter--"that smallest of states," he termed it. And involvement connotes charity, charity in the sense of its Latin root, caritas: love, caring, concern. So when we are enjoined to live "in love and charity with our neighbor," it might well be worth our while to contemplate the fact that this principle, this parameter, is not only a nice, individually uplifting and ennobling modus operandi but also can be demonstrated to be a

crass, practical matter of socio-cultural survival.

A final parameter, and an important one--a sense of vision. A vision of a good life, a better life, for our culture's children and for their children, coupled with the hope that all of us, now, working individually and in concert together can contribute, even in the most minute way, toward bringing this vision to fruition. Asking us to "recall Plato's argument," historian Lawrence Cremin provides a convenient, two-sentence précis of the Republic:

> In order to talk about the good life, we have to talk about the good society; and in order to talk about the good society, we have to talk about the kind of education that will bring that society into existence and sustain it. Hence, there is no vision of the good life that does not imply a set of educational policies; and conversely, every educational policy has implicit in it a vision of the good life.[8]

Ever since we all got off the boat--and it does not make any difference, really, which boat we got off of--we here in the United States have carried through our lives this kind of vision; and we have attempted, sometimes successfully and sometimes not, and with all the means at our disposal, to imbue the younger generation with this vision. Questions: Is this vision, this sense of purpose and meaning, as clear in our minds as it was in our earlier years? Is it in danger of being occluded in fogs of anti-cultural selfishness and self-interest, occluded by doubt and uncertainty?

* * *

To conclude: Uncertainty and confusion in identifying socio-cultural parameters, and an unwillingness to live within the rubric of shared socio-cultural parameters, cannot fail to produce compounded confusion and uncertainty, unease, even nervous doubt, throughout what is perhaps our country's most meaningful institutionalized paradigm, its publicly supported system of "formal" education. If this hypotheses is true, namely, that for any society or culture to continue to exist as such, there has to be a necessary, essential, and inextricable interaction and inter-dependence between socio-cultural paradigms and socio-cultural parameters; and if it is the major function of state-supported, institutionalized

educational systems to support and to enhance this kind of interaction and interdependence, then it must follow that any and all educational efforts, be they formal, non-formal, or informal, are indeed formative and cannot be regarded in any other light than formative. To undertake any kind of educational activity without recognizing that to educate is, ergo, to provide meaningful paradigms congruent with a culture's parameters is to attempt something akin to walking on air!

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THE COLLABORATIVE PROCESS IN INTERNATIONAL NONFORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS: WHAT IS IT?

by

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Nonformal Education Programs at the Center for International Education

During the period from 1971 to 1978, four programs in nonformal education were initiated on three continents by the Center for International Education in conjunction with counterpart organizations. These programs, in Ecuador, Ghana, Thailand and Guatemala, were developed to test ideas in the field of nonformal education. They were also developed to determine if a new departure could be initiated in the way in which such programs could be initiated and implemented. These programs were meant to be developed and run in a "collaborative" fashion in conjunction with the organizations who co-sponsored the programs in each country.

Cooperative programs are not new. Most international programs are put forward as cooperative in conditions other than outright war. And it should be confessed at the outset that these programs were not radical new departures from past efforts--they would hardly have gotten off the ground had they been unrecognizably different. Basically, international sponsoring organizations are quite conservative; and too often such organizations demand both innovation in rhetoric and status quo in performance.

The purpose of this paper is not, however, to provide an evaluation of the various programs mentioned above. Most have received varying degrees of evaluation from more objective observers. Rather, this paper is devoted to describing the tentative results obtained from analyzing the conditions under which collaborative programs are most likely to occur; a definition of such programs; and recommendations regarding the future directions of such programs. Insofar as the concept of collaborative international programs, as an entity which is definable and measurable, is rather new (as distinct from the older, less-defined idea of cooperation in international programs), this paper reflects the rather innocent state of the art. However, to the extent that it stimulates further inquiry into the area of further defining and elaborating the concept of collaboration in international

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programs, it will have served its purpose.

Defining Collaborative Programs

At the time that these programs were developed, there was no commonly-held definition of what collaborative programs are, under what conditions they are most likely to develop, and the particular advantages and disadvantages to cooperating groups. The Ecuador Project was primarily focused on developing a learner-centered nonformal education alternative to schooling, and not with collaborative programs as such; but much of what was done in that program pointed toward a change in relationships among those involved in the field of international education programs. Responding to these influences from the Center for International Education's own program as well as from the larger international program arena, in 1974 the Center developed a focus on collaborative program development as the main emphasis of the Grant under which the Ghana and Thailand nonformal education efforts were initiated.

Hoxeng, in his 1973 study of the Ecuador Project,[1] observed that schooling was no longer meeting the learning needs of many people throughout the world, and that a new paradigm of education was likely to emerge. In a similar war, foreign aid programs have been attacked from a number of perspectives for their failure to meet objectives; and alternative paradigms are also being sought in this area. They include targeting programs toward the poorest groups in third-world countries and the current efforts (especially those made through specialized agencies of the United Nations) to redress overall economic imbalances through a new world economic order. Just as schooling has been judged an inadequate solution for the transformation of inequitable societies, so foreign assistance in its current forms is conceived as inadequate to the task of reaching a more equitable and stable world economic order.

Fundamental to this shift in perspective is the growing understanding of the consequences of global interdependence. Many sectors of the world's economic and social systems are now perceived to be increasingly vulnerable to developments in and actions taken by other sectors. Related to this is an increasing awareness of the world's ecosystems as a common resource vulnerable to overexploitation by any one group or a combination of groups to the deterent of all. These new conditions are less susceptible to

solution by force, by military means, than before. A number of commentators both inside and outside development agencies, have observed that:

> The call for, and determination to bring about, a New International Economic (and Social) Order opens the way toward more equitable relationships in the world, internationally as well as nationally, and toward new forms of international cooperation involving the mutual sharing of human competence.[2]

It appears that a precondition for international collaborative programs is interdependence. Using Keohane and Nye's definition of complex interdependence, this means, first, that multiple channels connect the larger societies in which the program is to operate. These include not only governmental, but also private and professional organizations. Second, the relationships between these two societies are not dominated by any one issue--what Keohane and Nye call the "absence of hierarchy among issues." And third, military force is not predominate, and its use is less and less practical in certain kinds of international dilemmas.[3]

Why is interdependence a necessary precondition of collaborative programs? There is a temptation to exploit a partnership when force can be successfully used. Under conditions of interdependence, mutual vulnerability (in certain respects) and the absence of the option of force increase the likelihood that collaborative programs may develop. The opposite is of course also true: In situations in which one group has full control over another, genuine collaboration is unlikely, except in the special sense of forced collaboration, as in time of war.

Although interdependence is a necessary precondition for the development of collaborative programs, it is not necessarily true that only collaborative programs will develop under these circumstances. It simply makes them possible. For example, given two countries with an interdependent relationship, an organization in one way may wish to hire an organization in the second for specific purposes. Under these conditions, the group hired is subservient to the conditions negotiated in the contract, and a collaborative relationship cannot be said to obtain.

Collaborative programs are more likely when both organizations are working on a common problem. In collaborative programs in education, cooperating groups must also share certain concepts and values regarding the nature and purpose of the educational process. Once these are established

as related, there must be an identified linkage between the objectives of the involved organizations. For example, one of the groups may have a need to field-test specific curricula, a second a need for techniques to promote learning in a specific setting.

To arrive at a definition of collaborative programs, let us examine conclusions drawn from a recent study of intergroup behavior.[4] It was determined that cooperative choices are most likely to be selected:

1. When rewards to both parties are roughly equal or are perceived to confer net benefits to both groups.
2. When the rewards for both groups for cooperative behavior are higher than the rewards for coercive behavior, or for sabotaging cooperation.
3. When neither group has sufficient power to force its choices on the other.
4. When both groups have an understanding of the consequences of different behavior choices.
5. When deviations from cooperative behavior are minimized through joint agreement, or through the intercession of a third party.

To summarize: Cooperative enterprises require groups of more or less equal strength, equitable rewards consonant with risk, and guarantees against cheating. Incorporating these elements, then, a definition can be constructed:

> International collaborative programs are those in which two or more groups agree to contribute resources, work together toward common, mutually agreed-upon objectives, share rewards and risks, and develop reasonable guarantees of mutual compliance.

A program will be symmetrical--hence more collaborative--to the extent to which there is an equal sharing of goals, costs, risks and benefits to each of the participating groups; asymmetrical--less collaborative--to the extent to which there is an imbalance in goals, costs, or benefits.

It should be understood that collaborative programs are generally complex enterprises which change over time; the cooperating groups may have differing contributions to make over time, and the rewards may also

be different, although they must be equally valued. The definition and analysis presented here are a necessarily simplified representation of a very complex reality.

There is one very important implication of international collaborative programs in education that requires emphasis. Because collaborative programs require a degree of independence of each of the involved parties, there is an inherent value set on the concept of self-reliance. Therefore, to the degree that joint programs are collaborative, they can be expected to reinforce among client groups some of those same values. The reverse would also appear to be true: Coercive relationships between groups would foster the same atmosphere among client groups. Talcott Parsons presumes that this value relationship exists between different organizational levels:

> The main point of reference for analyzing the structure of any social system is its value pattern. This defines the basic orientation of the system (in the present case, the organization), the situation in which it operates; hence it guides the activities of participant individuals.
>
> In the case of an organization . . . this value system must be a subvalue system of a higher-order one, since the organization is always defined as a subsystem of a more comprehensive social system.[5]

Other observers have noted the relationship between collaboration and participation:

> Collaboration in development projects . . . involves a change in the decision making process that has existed in these projects, and that change is the increased participation of the clients.[6]

It follows then, that collaborative projects should have a certain value predisposition toward the development of the kind of learner-centered training and materials which develops with and from the participants in such programs, and which leads to their increased self-reliance, depending on the effectiveness of the project.

Recommendations Regarding the Development of Collaborative Programs in International Education

The real world of program development is much more complex, more

unpredictable, and less tractable than the realm of theoretical models. However, an understanding of the underlying features of collaborative programs should provide for a better base for planning.

The following lists recommendations for planning future collaborative programs:

1. The greater the conditions of interdependence that prevail, the higher the likelihood that collaborative programs can be developed. Indeed, collaborative-type programs are a part of the network of interconnections that develop under conditions of interdependence. Such programs are manifestly more difficult where suspicion and hostility exists from present or past circumstances of domination or oppression. It is equally difficult to develop collaborative programs under autocratic national systems because of the clash in cooperative-coercive values. This suggests that initiators of collaborative programs carefully analyze the sets of larger conditions that prevail.

2. In order to develop a collaborative program, the cooperating groups must share a set of values regarding the programs they undertake. In the case of the Center these values have included the development of learner-centered programs which involve providing skills to participants to begin to manipulate the social and economic systems of which they are a part. To carry out effective programs, potential collaborators must be able to have effectively communicated these values as well as model them internally. Organizations which plan to involve themselves in collaborative programs must therefore be able to define, describe, and communicate their own value sets. This involves a phase prior to the development of the project itself.

3. The most important stage of any collaborative program is the first. Since these programs are by definition cooperative, self-selection can be the only means by which two groups combine to develop a collaborative project. In order to achieve the best possible matches under these circumstances, a great deal of information must be communicated during the self-selection stage of collaborative program development. There is no reason why workshops cannot be designed specifically to accomplish this objective. There must, of course, be a sufficiency of motivation on both sides, as well as an initial understanding of cultural variables

which might affect understanding. In the programs mentioned above, by far the most serious difficulties were encountered in those cases in which sufficient information was not shared during the initial stage.

4. There must also be a goal which the organizations hold in common which motivates them to collaborate. The greater the importance of the goal to the organizations' own purposes, the greater the likelihood of effective collaboration. These common issues do not have to be the same, but they must at least be complementary--mutually supplying each other's lack, as it were. In the case of one Center project, in Ghana, the local organization supplied the opportunity for the field-testing of ideas, materials, and training models; the Center provided a way to increase the effectiveness of the local organization in development programs. If these goals are neither complementary nor synergistic, then it is unlikely that a collaborative project is feasible. These possibilities must, therefore, be explored carefully in the earliest stages of the project, prior to agreement to collaborate, probably through the workshop described above.

5. Devolution of authority by both collaborating groups is essential since in a sense the joint program represents an effort distinct from the activities of both organizations. Clarity is required as to what aspects of project management will be delegated, by whom and to whom.

6. Resources must be jointly contributed and rewards must be shared. The resources contributed to the project do not necessarily have to be of the same kind, nor do the rewards, but they must be appropriate to the organizations involved. Integration of program staffs is one way to predispose a project in this direction.

7. Situations which lead to coercive relationships should be avoided. The most practical way of avoiding coercive behaviors is for two organizations of about the same size and relative power to work together; when this is not possible, it may be necessary to rely on third-party adjudication of disputes.

Past efforts in international collaborative program development have been limited by a lack of clarity regarding the components and processes that these efforts require. As these become clearer, it should be possible to improve the planning and design of such programs.

Future Directions in International Education Programs

Collaborative programs have existed for some time, particularly among private, nongovernment groups. In many international programs today, they may not be appropriate or possible. This is especially true in terms of working with government or government-controlled agencies in other countries: National governments rarely share their authority with groups from outside that country. Collaborative programs in which nongovernment groups work together are much more likely possibilities. But even governments will increasingly have to work in a more cooperative fashion--ceding some of what has been considered national sovereignty as the price for preserving the ecological and economic systems upon which each depends. The more prevalent these circumstances, the more likely it is that collaborative programs will be developed to seek solutions to common problems.

Universities around the world should be leading in research on these vital matters. In the United States, a new Fulbright-type program should be mounted to sponsor exchanges of faculty, students, and the development of collaborative programs in areas where the common ecological, economic, and social interest prevails. Title XII of the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975 was a step in the right direction, but it was a small and tentative step which has so far yielded little, in part due to the inertia of the aid establishment. But both the universities and the U.S. government suffer from the same myopia; neither has shown the will to shake off a national parochialism which settled in during the mid-fifties. John Gardner has noted that "in order to educate their students for the world of today and tomorrow and to carry out their tasks of advancing human understanding, universities must relate themselves to the rest of the world." He has also pointed out that "most universities do not command the resources to extend their interests so broadly."[7] A new Fulbright-type program centered around global issues would provide the incentive for the U.S. system of higher education to respond.

There is also a crucial need for coordinating the increasing international interests of groups all over the world, interests created under the net of interdependence. Such a coordinating role could be played by a specialized agency of the United Nations. Government, professional, and private groups of all types interested in collaborative programs on common issues with groups in other countries could be coordinated through

such an agency. Presuming that the United Nations would not directly fund such programs, but limit its role to one of coordination, the cost of such an operation would be small.

With linkages developing between domestic and international systems, there is a glaring need for an equivalent linking of research into the effects of these interdependencies, and how problems and opportunities arising from them may be best approached. But there is little incentive for doing so. For example, one of the most crucial international issues is how to integrate national economies into the international economic system, as local systems were once integrated into national ones. Such an issue affects most of the people in the United States, indeed in most countries, yet there is little research undertaken by universities on this subject.

As global systems gradually incorporate local ones, institutions created by the older systems will come under stress and become subject to strains for which they have not been prepared. Under these circumstances the institutions that survive will be the ones that have the leadership and foresight to plan for, understand, and adapt to new realities. The development of collaborative programs in international education may be an adaptive method of providing opportunities in research and development that will contribute to a transition to a global society.

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INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION AND A LOOK AT VOLUNTARISM

by

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Introduction

Soon after the Tehran Conference of Ministers of Education for the Eradication of Illiteracy, Unesco issued its first publication on the topic of school teachers and their role in the education of adults.[1] Although rather narrow in its conception and limited in its presentation, the book represented the beginning of what was to become a debate on a topic which is still very much open to discussion: What kind(s) of instructional staff is/are most appropriate for literacy and out-of-school education?

This paper will first present a short overview of the kinds of teachers and instructors which have emerged during the past two decades of literacy work in the developing world. In the second secton of the paper, the discussion will turn to voluntarism and the use of volunteer staff in instructional and organizational roles in out-of-school education. In doing so, factors contributing to the successful use of volunteer instructional staff, as well as the constraints placed upon programs dependent upon volunteers for staffing will be emphasized. In this connection, particular attention will be given to the role of voluntarism in literacy programs as opposed to other forms of nonformal and out-of-school education. The literature which has been sampled on the topic of voluntarism in out-of-school educational activities represents a wide range of programs including national literacy campaigns tied to revolutionary movements, integrated development programs, community action programs, radio school programs and individualized programs for small groups of learners. The final section of the paper will present a number of concerns regarding the use of volunteer teachers, the role of the volunteer teacher and the grassroots needs of volunteer teachers if they are to function effectively.

In all cases, the literature underscores the valuable contribution that volunteers and the agencies which they represent have made to the

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field of literacy and out-of-school education--efforts which are often modest in size, yet substantial in nature.

Section I: An Overview

When A.S.M. Hely's book, School Teachers and the Education of Adults was first published in 1965, it reflected the thinking of the time: formally trained teachers were conceived of as being a major source of instructional staff for adult education activities, and through their participation in additional training programs they were to "become fit" to handle adult classes.[2] Their possession of knowledge of educational psychology and subject matter and their teaching skills made them superior choices. They lived in the community, supposedly knew the local dialect and were thought to understand the local psychology. They were, according to Hely, equipped to assess the character and the needs of the community and could, therefore, initiate local literacy programs.

Although Hely was not radically wrong, the force of his statement left little room for the reader to question other possible sources of instructional staff. The decade after the publication of the book saw the "hallowed" role of the formally trained school teacher questioned, and in some cases usurped, as instructional staff from ranks other than those of the formal school system showed promise in literacy and out-of-school education programs.

In formal education, the concept of teacher is both stable and persistent. Teachers are recognized as the formally credentialed agent of the sponsoring agency, usually the government. Their specialized training brings with it the authority of the sponsoring agency and the concept that teaching is an occupation.

In literacy and out-of-school education, one often finds "teachers" who do not fit the formal school model. Many are people who have other jobs and who are teaching their job skills. Most have not had specific training as teachers and they are likely to shape their teaching behaviour in terms of what they know about what they are teaching and not in terms of what they know about teaching. Many are peers of the learners and share common goals and cultural assumptions. In cases where instructors have some other occupation, their authority and status seems to rest upon their performance in, and the sponsorship of, their occupation.

The procedures which have been used in the recruitment and training of instructional staff for literacy and out-of-school education are as diverse as the programs themselves. The sense of urgency which characterized program planning and implementation in the 1960's is now perhaps more tempered, but in many instances the major priority remains "to get equipped as quickly as possible by working together to develop the necessary personnel, methods and a new knowledge."[3] There was a pervading feeling during that period that project planners had to remain liberal in stating the requirements and qualifications for instructional staff.

Much of the literacy work done prior to the 1960's grew out of the concern of private and voluntary organizations for aiding in diminishing the plight of their illiterate fellow citizens. Much of the staff for these programs was voluntary in nature and recruited from the ranks of primary school teachers and other educated segments of the population. Staffing often reflected program planning and staff training experience occurred. Staffing problems were often seen as problems of the immediate organization only.

By the 1960's, literacy was both a national and international concern. With that concern came ambitious plans and the first concerted international planning effort directed at the problem of illiteracy. The narrowness of its focus was the source of both success and failure.

As Unesco's Experimental World Literacy Program got underway, the question of what extent could teachers be used as literacy instructors surfaced again. In many cases, teachers were seen as the captive audience already in place in the operational areas of the projects: a commodity to be used. Although heavy use was made of their presence in several projects, their skills were perhaps not used to the best end. Many were found to be poor teachers of adults and nonreceptive to the new methods which were being advocated for literacy teaching. The rate of reversion to former pedagogical virtues and behaviours was high.[4] Some looked upon teaching literacy as an imposition and quickly transferred their displeasure and lack of motivation to the learners in their classes.

Early on, projects began to -ook beyond trained school teachers for possible instructional staff. The reasons were several. There was, in almost every country where the EWLP was functioning, a shortage of instructional staff. In many cases, this shortage was a boon to the projects,

for planners were required to make creative use of a wide range of other options. There was also a need for technical and vocational instruction to provide the content material for functional literacy. In many cases, projects found that it was easier, and less costly, to train farmers and mill labourers who had basic literacy skills in teaching methodology and use them in instructional roles rather than teach primary school teachers the technical content only to find that they had concentrated on literacy skills at the expense of the technical information. It was also found that farmers and mill labourers were more readily accepted by the learners as being individuals who knew what they were teaching. The role of peer teaching became more important. In other projects, especially those in which literacy was tied to larger development projects, governments realized that there were political as well as pedagogical criteria for the selection of instructional staff.

What did emerge from the EWLP was a task profile[5] of the ideal literacy instruction which included teaching the three R's, classroom vocational teaching, practical training via demonstrations, animation, and understanding of and sensitivity to adults of the least favored socio-economic strata.

Towards the end of the 1960's and into the 1970's a major reason for looking for alternative instructional staff sources became the financial one. In cases where governments were faced with the problem of mass illiteracy, it was economically impossible to pay instructional staff. Many governments felt justified in asking, or demanding the voluntary contribution of educated citizens in campaigns against illiteracy.

Educational planners contend that in very poor countries any rural education programs whose technology and effectiveness hinge on heavy inputs from full time professionally trained instructional staff will in all probability be unable to expand sufficiently to serve more than a small fraction of the total potential clientele requiring such services.

Planners have also realized the constraints inherent in advocating models for developing leadership and competent manpower needs for out-of-school education. Each country must create its own by utilizing and transforming existing institutions in the best possible way to serve its needs.

In Attacking Rural Poverty, Philip Coombs urges a close look at the

potential advantages of using local volunteers and other personnel, whether paid or unpaid, for several reasons:

> a. the impact of resources and personnel devoted to a program can be multiplied by using volunteers from the local community to assist in the educational efforts as a model farmer, for example, or as a monitor for a radio listening group or an organizer for a youth or women's club;
>
> b. a sense of involvement and participation in the educational program is generated in the local community by closely associating some of its members with the program;
>
> c. the social and psychological acceptability of the educational message is enhanced when the opinion leaders of the community are the educational agents of the program; and
>
> d. the use of local personnel can pave the way for changing the personnel structure in a program to allow a shift toward a smaller group of better paid and more qualified specialists and technicians in the field while community people are enlisted for the simpler and less technical educational tasks.[6]

Perhaps one of the more interesting uses of volunteer staffing has been the way in which various literacy programs have utilized youth as teachers. In his book, Youth and Literacy,[7] Arthur Gillette looks at youth working as literacy teachers in three ways. He first presents several categories of young instructors: university students teaching during their summer holidays; teacher training college students and apprentice teachers gaining teaching experience working in organized literacy activities as a part of their teacher training; secondary school students such as those of the Tabora Girl's School in Tanzania who won the first Pahlavi Literacy Prize for their work in a nearby hospital; members of non-school youth organizations such as the YMCA and the YWCA and religious youth groups engaged in literacy instruction; and groups with an international bent such as Unesco clubs in developing countries.

Gillette then turns his attention to a brief debate which questions the suitability of literacy teaching as a youth activity and provides answers to some of the concerns raised in the debate through focusing on programs in the Malagasy Republic and Cuba in which literacy teachers from the ranks of the youth have played an instrumental part.

What all the foregoing examples show is that any planning for national programs of literacy and out-of-school education will have to consider how the grassroots can be associated with it. Possible approaches should include a close look at the work of private and largely volunteer efforts as well as national programs which have had a strong volunteer component. Before turning to such a discussion, the following section of this paper will first take a look at voluntarism, volunteers and the general question of motivation.

Voluntarism and Volunteers

The point of entry into a voluntary organization or voluntary participation involves the process of membership and service. The literature suggests that most volunteering has some element of initial enlightened self-interest. The indiviual takes on a large identity when associated with or having responsibilities in an organization. That wider identification is often the source of a feeling of contribution to mankind. There also appears to be a cultural pattern or tradition about volunteering which makes it acceptable in certain circles and not in others; for a long period of time in the United States the vast majority of volunteers were white, middle to upper class and well educated.

Volunteerism refers to action which is the result of choice. In some of the projects examined later in this paper, one can see that choice can also be interpreted as civic duty or national obligation. We shall also see that motivations for volunteering are often tied to this sense of civic duty or national obligation.

Traditionally conceived, volunteers are people who offer themselves for service without any claim for payment of services rendered. A review of projects utilizing volunteers in instructional staff positions shows that it is often necessary to provide incentives, which in some cases take the form of monetary payment, to volunteers for their "services." A latter section of the paper will treat the question of provision of incentives in greater depth and show that many programs have maintained a no payment position through the provision of other sorts of incentives.

When literacy and out-of-school education protects fail, there is a tendency to say that the people, or more importantly, the teachers

were not motivated. Hence the conclusion that if we provide motivation in one way or another we shall succeed. As one writer has stated it, "It seems as if we regard motivation as some sort of fertilizer that we spread on the psychology of the learners."[8] And also perhaps in that of the instructional staff?

Program planners must be concerned with motivation and its implications for voluntarism, for it is necessary to capture the essence of that which can successfully tap the energy and enthusiasm of volunteers to make plans work. Many educators feel that motivation can be learned. Some countries talk in terms of organizational power or mass line activity--the ability to motivate people, to mobilize resources and stimulate and guide action. It is said to be political will harnessed to national purpose. Experience has shown that programs in which literacy is the primary goal rather than a means to individual mobility and collective promotion are rarely successful in motivating people or political systems to act. The diffusion of literacy occurs rapidly where a development ethos is present amongst all working in the program and where literacy is essential to full participation in economic, social and cultural life.

Programs must be intrinsically motivational--both for the learner and for the instructional staff. It is necessary to recognize that motivation derives from extrinsic rather than intrinsic factors. Literacy must not lead to a dead end. Opportunities must be provided for new and old literates alike to capitalize on their skills and the psychological importance of such action can not be underestimated.

Motivation arises in interaction with the environment. It is a process. Those working with volunteer staff need to realize that when the need for behavioural change is there, people change and learn new skills. But the need arises only when new opportunities for action appear and when rewards that mean something are offered. This is true not only in the case of the learners in a literacy program but also for their instructional staff.

Volunteer programs or programs with a strong volunteer element in them fall into two main categories according to their settings or main point of accountability. One category of programs are those initiated and supported by government sources, whether local, regional or national level, and responsible to various government agencies. Another category

are those programs initiated and supported mainly by voluntary sector agencies--minority group organizations, church consortia, community action groups, private foundations, and international service organizations. In the majority of cases, voluntary programs in both categories receive substantial contributions from private sources.

Within these two categories, one can find community development programs, basic education programs, literacy programs--traditional, functional, work-oriented and mass campaigns, radio literacy campaigns and person-to-person tutor programs.

In the section which follows, programs representative of some of the types mentioned above will be discussed. In each example attention will be placed on the role of volunteer instructional staff rather than general program characteristics.

Mass literacy campaigns: In Viet Nam,[9] the organization of literacy training was based on what is known as the "mass line." This means that it was essential to make the masses conscious of the fact that the struggle against illiteracy was their struggle, so that they would assume responsibility for its pursuit themselves. The educated elite was expected to participate in the literacy campaign as volunteers just as the semi-literate peasant was. Literacy activities culminated with prize giving ceremonies and certificate distribution for those recently literate. Illiterate onlookers were then asked to register for the next round of courses. Special awards were issued to families, villages and districts which had successfully eradicated illiteracy. Considerable impact also came from the sending of congratulatory letters sent by the president at the time, Ho Chi Minh, to literacy instructors, pupils and regions who were particularly successful.

In Tanzania,[10] during the first two years of the Experimental World Literacy Program, from 1968-1970, all teachers were volunteers. Most of them had finished primary school but some were primary school drop-outs. Volunteer teacher candidates were proposed by local literacy committees and centers. They then had to take written tests to measure their general knowledge and math ability. If they pased, they were asked to teach for a minimum of two years. Although they were volunteers, they received a stipend equivalent to $4.20 a month. In 1970, the Ministry of Education announced that all primary teachers had to teach at least one literacy

class per year. The following year, release time was granted to primary teachers as compensation for literacy teaching but they received no additional salary for their work.

It is interesting to note that the two groups of literacy teachers showed different attitudes toward their work. It was found that primary school literacy teachers had undertaken the job as graciously as they had because of a strong obligation they felt to share the privilege of being literate with others. The volunteers, who were originally from the ranks of the unemployed, were eager to teach and wanted to help their neighbors. Needless to say, the honorarium was a welcomed addition to their income and before long, they began to demand other recognition for ther newfound "professional" status.

In the Tanzanian experience, it was found that there was a need for constant support from project staff for both kinds of teachers. This support included prompt delivery of materials for class work as well as demonstrations. Teachers needed frequent supervision and they wanted to be paid promptly. A newsletter was developed which gave practical hints on teaching techniques, discussed project activities and presented supplementary educational materials which the teachers could summarize and present to the class. The newsletter also carried articles of general interest about adult education in the country and dealt with other development oriented issues.

An additional mass campaign of note is that which has been ongoing in Burma since 1966.[11] The movement, which is sanctioned by the only political party in the country, is voluntary from its highest organizational aspect to the instructors working in remote villages. In all cases, it is considered the civic duty of the literate to help in the education of the illiterate fellow citizens. The program, which uses traditional approaches to literacy instruction, moves into functional literacy in the first and second follow-up phases. As in the case of Viet Nam, special certificates of participation are awarded to all--participants, instructional staff and planning staff.

Although all literates are encouraged to participate as instructors in the literacy program in Burma, the majority are drawn from the ranks of students of the training colleges. The volunteer instructors are given a two-week pre-service training which is followed up by inservice

training. To assist volunteer instructional staff in their teaching duties a "Teachers' Handbook" has been developed. This handbook is continuously revised on the basis of the feedback received during their inservice training programs and from the field and from the adult learners themselves.

Small-scale literacy programs: Small-scale literacy programs, as is also the case for mass campaigns, use volunteer personnel in a number of ways. In some instances, volunteers are used in full time teaching positions. In others they are used in auxiliary capacities as organizers, individual tutors, or as animators/facilitators.

In the Philippines, the Foundation for Youth Development,[12] uses volunteers, both men and women from government and industry in programs designed to help out-of-school youth. The volunteers undergo a lengthy--seven week--training course which involves community research and development, teacher training and an exposure to teaching methodologies. Teachers trained in the program are then used to train other teachers. The organization confines its work to functional literacy programs and self-help activities.

In another example from the Philippines,[13] the training of auxiliary literacy teachers is based upon the assumption that literacy teaching does not require a high level of education. Use was made of neighborhood people who had a little education. It was shown that they could learn fairly well and easily how to teach others to read and write. There was a triple advantage to the program. First, the burden of literacy teaching was not wholly upon "trained" teaching staff. Secondly, there was greater participation of local people in the actual conduct of the program. Thirdly, it was found that literacy teaching was accelerated. The program started by training those who had shown a willingness to help others and who had the character and personality to do the job. As an incentive, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) started the practice of awarding certificates of merit to each auxiliary teacher who trained at least three individuals to read and write.

In the same program, literacy graduates were not only given the opportunity of using their literacy skills in teaching others, they were involved in the distribution of suitable reading materials, the establishment of reading centers and small libraries and the organization of reading circles and clubs.

Radio Literacy Programs: Perhaps the best known example of the radio literacy programs is that of ACPO in Colombia.[14] The program, which was founded in 1947, draws upon the assistance of some 20,000 volunteers throughout the country for its radio school. The majority of these volunteers come from the ranks of the campesinos, the rural farmers. Each of the listening groups is administered by an auxilar immediato (immediate auxiliary) who is a member of the community and, in most cases, has more education than the other members of the listening group. He or she volunteers to organize the listening group and actively promotes enrollment, organizes a regular meeting site, obtains a radio for the class, sees that attendance is regular and assists the learners during the radio class. The volunteer is responsible for sending in enrollment statistics and is asked to attend weekly meetings of auxiliaries in the municipal center.

Radio listening groups in Tanzania, Niger and Senegal have also made use of volunteers at the level of the local listening groups. As in the case of ACPO, the success of the programs owes much to the services rencered by the volunteers working at the grassroots level.

Facilitator models: In Ecuador, volunteers were used more in the capacity of organizers and coodinators of a variety of learning endeavors within the learning group rather than as a teacher.[15] These organizers/facilitators guided individuals in their learning groups in acquiring literacy, math skills, self-awareness, social awareness, ability to critically analyze problems, and strategies for dealing with daily problems.

In the project, villages were invited to select representatives from amongst their residents to receive five weeks of training, leading to the acquisition of skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to facilitate learning in community based groups. Content included communication of group process skills, critical thinking, literacy and numeracy skills, and information concerning family life planning. Upon completion of their training, the facilitators returned to their villages to form evening learning groups.

The projects which have been reviewed above are only a few of those which have and in some instances still do rely upon the services of

volunteers for successful implementation of their programs. A review of such programs does serve to highlight some of the growing concerns about the use of volunteers in out-of-school education. Many planners interested in voluntarism share a common concern: the quality of volunteer leadership enjoyed by most voluntary organizations today will be hard to replace. One of the major challenges facing organizations dependent upon volunteer staffing for educatonal programs is to find an ample number of promising volunteers and hold them until they are able to make a significant contribution to the program.

Voluntarism: Planning Concerns and Considerations for Future Action

1. Need for reconceptualization of the role of the teacher as change agent: The literature reflects the role of the teacher as the vital factor in successful literacy and out-of-school education programs. There is a general feeling that instructional staff in such programs need to have an attitude of understanding, empathy and respect for others. There is also a need for an empathic concern for self-determination which is often a characteristic of many educational efforts sponsored by community action agencies and broader based development programs.

In out-of-school education there has been, and still needs to be more emphasis on the reconceptualization of the role of the teacher as a group leader, an agent of change, who has a definite influence upon the social climate of the group. It is no longer a question of teacher competency. The question is one of the importance of the leadership role of the teacher. Teachers can no longer rely upon the usual educational devices for motivating learning, for their audience is no longer the captive audience it once may have been.

According to Axxin and Thorat,[16] the effectiveness of individual change agents tends to vary inversely with the social distance--differences in education, language, economic level, age, family status and physical distance--between the change agent and the members of the learning group.

There also seems to be a positive relationship between the success of out-of-school programs when their "teachers" are local persons selected by the group to be served. Likewise, the effectiveness and efficiency of out-of-school programs seems to be higher when past learners become the teachers of new learners.

2. Rewards and incentives: Even if no monetary payment is made to volunteer teachers working in literacy and out-of-school education, there must be some system of rewards. Recognition and respect must be shown for the contributions which have been made. Volunteers are a delicate commodity and they must feel that their efforts are appreciated and supported.

The most common kind of provision made is in the form of certificates and letters of appreciation. In some instances, volunteer service has been used as a basis for consideration for promotion or salary increments in the volunteer's daily profession. In other cases, as will be demonstrated in the section below on remediation, volunteer teachers have been provided with an opportunity to share their skills in training other teachers and in attending workshops and conferences. But, by and large, most volunteers are simply offered a "thank you" for their work.

3. Remediation of present backstopping services: There is a definite need to consider plans for remediation. There exists a paucity of backstopping services offered to volunteer teachers and an absence in local programs for stimulating ties with the outside. Most local programs are isolated, both socially and intellectually, and for this reason, tend to atrophy.

There are some who contend that how volunteers feel about what they are doing is just as improtant, if not more so, as learning the basic techniques of what they are to do. The personal contact that the volunteer has with program staff is valuable, and regular visits from program staff are positive for the morale. They want to see what others are doing and have the chance to discuss their problems with other volunteers.

There is a need for visits by subject area specialists to enrich programs. Staff maintenance and development must remain high priorities. There must be an active flow of information from project centers to project sites. The flow of software must be prompt and continuous.

4. In-service training: In rural areas and in cases where programs are decentralized and integrated in nature, large-scale requirements are made on manpower. In-service refresher training courses are a must. The neglect of in-service training and growth has been a major source of weakness in educational programs of all kinds during the past decade. The

reasons are many: there is a lack of glamour of training compared with visible "front line" action; administrators have been reluctant to take workers of thinly staffed rural education projects; in-service training enjoys a bad reputation for being both dull and irrelevant; financial planners lack the conviction that training will reap benefits for the program; and there still exists that rather naive assumption that once a person has been trained, that is enough.

There are crucial questions which a training program for volunteer instructional staff must ask of itself: What will the instructors be able to do after the program, and with what competence? Can training programs, both pre- and in-service, continue to be offered cafeteria style, as was often the case in the past?

The neglect and indifference toward a periodic intellectual and personal resources of staff poses constraints on the quality, attractiveness and effectiveness of educational programs. If such were not the case, then perhaps there would be fewer complaints against rural primary school teachers for their inability to handle groups of adult learners effectively in functional literacy situations. Two to five days of training, and then nothing more, does not seem to have been enough. A review of projects shows that those which have taken staff training seriously, like ACPO and SENA in Colombia and the Literacy and Family Life Planning in Thailand, have been rewarded for their efforts.

It also appears that inadequate use has been made of existing formalized institutions in the conduct of training programs for instructional staff of out-of-school literacy programs. A 1977 survey[17] of organizations and institutions engaged in literacy training activities showed that such involvement was only incidental. Universities, agricultural colleges and teacher training colleges can contribute much to the training and subsequent strengthening of instructional staff--whether full time, part time, or volunteer--for literacy and out-of-school education projects.

5. Training costs: Scrimping on orientation training and continued refresher training courses for volunteer instructors and local animators and facilitators is a false economy. Getting together socially or in intellectually stimulating experiences, being treated with respect, having dialogues with experts and other volunteers, and getting a keen sense of personal development and involvement are among the main rewards

and incentives which keep individuals volunteering.

If out-of-school education programs are to live up to the low capital component which has characterized them, then instructional staff--which usually makes up the largest portion of program expenditure--must make use of volunteers. An integral part of making the most judicious use of volunteers is to invest wisely in the provision of initial and in-service training programs.

6. Receptiveness to change: There are a number of crucial questions which yet remain to be fully answered by volunteers and the voluntary sector. Chief among these is how well have voluntary programs handled the trend toward comprehensiveness? Has there been a shift in programs toward an emphasis on learner needs and daily living skills? Has there been an increased willingness to modify structure or point of view so that educational services begin offered by a voluntary agency or using volunteers can become a part of a total development program? Has there been a recognizable effort to relate loyalty of the volunteers to the larger goals of a society or nation and the purpose of "education of disadvantaged adults?" Or, is the welfare of the particular voluntary agency or organization seen as paramount?

Has there been progress in understanding recent developments in the education field, especially in reading and teaching methodologies? Has there been a demonstrated willingness to have volunteer programs assessed by subject area specialists? Has there been progress in working with professionals to develop helpful hints for administrators and teachers regarding productive use of volunteers? And the question which will haunt the voluntary educational agency which did not originate its programs within the target group: Do they really understand the implications of the need for self-determination any more than the "established' adult education system?

In any conception of social and political change and progress, the role of those who guide the minds of the learners is crucial. The major concern should then be what can be done to train instructional staff as teachers and leaders and offer them the necessary recognition for their role in these important processes. If one is dependent upon volunteer staff as the source of instructional staff, then extra effort will be

needed to be sure that they are the spark that ignites a new individual, community or regional consciousness towards collaboration in resolving the problems of social and economical change and development. It will be necessary to make sure that their voices are heard, that their needs are dealt with, and that they are given concrete assistance in accessing resources and, most importantly, that they receive recognition for the work they are doing.

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NONFORMAL EDUCATION:

COUNTRY AND REGION-SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA: THE CASE OF VILLAGE POLYTECHNIC

by

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to examine one program for rural development[1] in Kenya, the Village Polytechnic. The paper will describe the Village Polytechnic as a potential solution to the problem of sky-rocketing unemployment of thousands of primary school graduates who are unable to continue their formal education.

It is appropriate at this point to briefly describe the structure of primary schooling in the rural communities. The primary schools of Kenya run from standards one through seven (grades one to seven). At the end of standard seven, students take the Certificate of Primary Examination through which a small number are selected to continue their education in secondary schools. Because the majority of the graduates are in the rural areas, various non-formal education agencies have been developed to meet the employment needs of these primary school graduates who are not selected for further formal education. Some of these non-formal educational organizations include the National Youth Service run by the Ministry of Labor, 4K Clubs run by the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Village Polytechnics started and continuously funded by the National Christian Council of Kenya. This paper will address the latter--the Village Polytechnic (VP).

What is meant by Village Polytechnic? It is not a school or college with very advanced equipment or instructors with advanced training. The VP provides a type of local apprenticeship in the rural areas of Kenya and its purpose is to train the primary school graduates who are not able to further their formal education in secondary schools. Depending on the community and the availability of resources (e.g., staff, equipment, funds) a VP, for example, can train young people in poultry keeping, masonry, carpentry or dress-making.

By what criteria, then, can the VP be described as a non-formal education? Philip Coombs, one of the prominent non-formal educational

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planners has defined non-formal education as:

> . . . any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, nonformal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like.[2]

In this context the term "learning need" is used to indicate "a gap between some conception of desirable norm, . . . some standard of philosophic value and actual status . . . need is the gap between what is and what should be."[3] The VP's aim at filling the gap which results when students do not go on to secondary schools. The VP's, therefore, provide non-formal and practical training ranging from six months to two years.

According to Harbison,[4] there are three categories of activity within non-formal educational systems: 1) activities designed mainly to improve the skill and knowledge of those who are currently employed; 2) activities planned particularly to prepare youth to enter into employment; and 3) activities planned to improve and enhance skills in family planning, literacy programs, nutrition, health and others. It is the second category that fits the concept of the VP which provides vocational training in the rural areas, using less-sophisticated equipment to improve skills in agriculture and to help candidates to establish local small businesses or to secure other jobs within the local area which will enable them to earn a decent living. The function of non-formal education offered through the VPs is the preparation of youths for wage-employment, as well as self-employment in rural communities.

Evolution of Village Polytechnics in Kenya

The concept of "Village Polytechnic" was originally developed in 1965 by a Working Party of the Youth Department of the Christian Council of Kenya plus the Christian Churches' Educational Association. The

ideas and conceptualization of VP by the two groups, (NCCK and CCEA) were published in 1966 in the now famous article, "After School What?"[5] which is often cited by non-formal and rural development educational planners. The NCCK aim was to research and attack the problem of an increasing proportion of primary school graduates who are unable to continue their formal education or to find employment of any skilled or permanent nature.

In addition to helping primary level graduates develop job skills, an important objective of the VPs was to revive and raise the status of rural craft training. Since Kenya entered world markets, before and after independence, home industry and rural crafts have been displaced and looked upon as backward and inefficient. This has resulted in foreign investment and local skills and resources being drawn to the urban areas which has in many ways strangled the old rural economy without helping to transform it.

Rural people are a major component and important social and productive force in the population. Since the majority of the population lives in the rural areas and practices subsistence farming, the youngsters in the primary schools must be taught that agriculture is a vital and scientific practice and is not a dirty menial job. This should be emphasized throughout the Kenyan schools, while giving less emphasis to the commercial and managerial skills that are primarily provided by and serve the foreign trade sector.

The concept of the VP could help in the long run to reduce the imbalance between rural and urban development. This imbalance would be lessened if it were possible for rural and urban areas to attain "equal" distribution of resources necessary for development. The rewards gained by the urban based business tend to repress the initiative of the rural masses. By helping to strengthen the autonomy of rural communities the VPs contribute to the decrease of the unequal distribution of resources. VPs, of course, are only a small part of what must be a radical national comprehensive development plan which would be a subject beyond the scope of this paper.

Prior to the VP experimental concepts in 1966, there existed a number of youth centers scattered throughout Kenya. The centers were established in the 1950's by the British administrators, during the

Mau-Mau movement to help keep unemployed youths and destitute children out of trouble in the Central Province. It was after Kenya's independence in the early 1960's that youth centers were changed from centers of unemployed youths to institutions that provided youths with training which would lead them to employment. For example, tailoring, masonry and others.[6] It was out of youth centers that the early VPs such as Nambale in Busia District, established by the Anglican Mission and Mucii wa Urata on Mwea Tabera Rice Scheme, was started by an extension of the NCCK Christian Rural Training Center.[7]

In September of the same year (1966) the experimental village polytechnic movement was taking place, an important Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development was held in Kericho, Kenya. This Conference, now referred to as the Kericho Conference, marks an important point in the history of education in Kenya. The Conference participants included qualified and experienced scholars, politicians, administrators and educators and others from many countries.[8]

The Kericho Conference examined in depth Kenya's educational model (plan), employment and difficulties of rural development, paying particular attention to the alarming problem of the unemployed youths. As shown in Table 1 only 16% of the 1963-65 primary school graduates continued with secondary school education or obtained jobs.[9]

TABLE I

Index of Opportunity for Further Education

	1963	1964	1965
K.P.E.* entries	62,125	103,400	150,000
Form I enrollment in aided schools	8,956	11,529	12,754
Index of opportunity	14.4	11.2	8.5
Form I enrollment in unaided schools	3,756	7,486	11,354
Overall index of opportunity	20.0	18.4	16.1

Source: Olouch, G. et al. "Learning Needs in Rural Areas A Case Study of Vihiga and Hamisi Divisions: The Special Rural Development Programme," International Institute for Educational Planning, Unesco Paris, August, 1977, p.10.

*K.P.E. stands for Kenya Primary Examination and is the old name now replaced by C.P.E. (Certificate of Primary Education).

Armed with such alarming statistics, the Conference suggested that comprehensive rural development should become a priority of Kenya government's development plans. The Kericho Conference concluded with some of the ideas and concepts that supported the VP concepts developed by the NCCK in 1965. These are:

> The overwhelming majority of Kenya citizens live and work in the rural areas. The core of the problem is to bring a rapidly increasing proportion of this rural population into a modern productive economy. This is not only a question of production but of raising income, the status, the self-respect and the satisfaction of the whole farming community. Unless and until this can be achieved, the advance of the urban and industrial sector will be severely checked.
>
> One of the chief tools with which to achieve this rural transformation is education and training in their many forms - as much the education of the adult farmer in new techniques and attitudes . . . as much the education of children and adolescents . . .
>
> But while the process of economic investment and education gathers momentum there arises an urgent and inescapable problem of finding productive employment (including self employment), and an increasing income for huge numbers of Kenya citizens whose expectations are rising and for whom economic opportunity has not yet been created.
>
> The Conference was also deeply concerned with the great and growing differentials in earnings between the salaried or wage earning sector of society and the great majority of the population, with its many dangers--dangers of social injustice and conflict, of the retarded economic growth, of misplaced values of aspirations.[10]

Realizing the dilemma of the rural communities, the Kenya government directed its efforts into developing the rural communities, as indicated by the 1970-74 Development Plan. This Plan stated that, "The key strategy for this Plan is to direct an increasing share of the total resources available to the nation towards rural areas."[11] The 1974-78 Plan reinforced these policies by carrying out various projects. Among them are the Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) described in the Chapters 4.7 - 4.10 of the 1974-78 Development Plan.[12]

Implementation of SRDP

The main functions of SRDP were to design pilot rural development strategies for expanding rural income in selected poor and crowded districts. Also, it had to delineate a structure which could serve as the models for implementation of SRDP throughout the rest of rural Kenya.

Thus far, the SRDP has carried out its work in one of the six selected representative rural districts. The original selection was composed of fourteen districts. From this original figure the following six districts were selected:

District	Division
Kwale	South Kwale
Nyeri	North Tetu
West Pokot	Kapenguria
Embu	Mbere
South Nyanza	Migori/Kihancha
Kakamega	Vihiga/Hamisi[13]

The Kenya case study expedited the national policies of improving rural districts. This team worked in or studied Vihiga and Hamisi Divisions in Kakamega District located in Nyanza Province. Some of the major elements of SRDP included the improvement of the following major characteristics of rural communities:

a) Rural health and sanitation;
b) Increase agricultural production and improve livestock;
c) Improve rural industries and vocational training; etc.

In the Vihiga/Hamisi Divisions the SRDP concentrated on improving:

d) Vegetable production;
e) Grade cattle (artificial insemination);
f) Village polytechnics and rural industries.[14]

The SRDP reflects the central government's keen interest in developing, initiating, and popularizing non-formal educational programs. In the introduction of 1974-78 Plan the late President Kenyatta stated that, "The government will play a more active role in the economy than ever before. Rural areas transformation will be heralded in the previous

Plan (1970-74) will be further developed."[15]

The Village Polytechnics: Clientele and Recruitment Criteria

Earlier in this paper, it was pointed out that nonformal education is established to serve particular needs of a subgroup or groups in a population. The VPs recruit most of their clientele from the pool of primary school graduates. About six years ago Wanjala[16] observed that in more than 30 VPs throughout Kenya, there were over a thousand trainees, about 700 boys and 300 girls. Most of the VPs admit both boys and girls into their programs, but the Mbale VP and Kithoka Girls VP (Meru) are exclusively for girls.

Most of the recruits come from thousands of annual primary school graduates. It has been observed that about 50% of VPs are actively seeking trainees. As a result of this search, the major criterion for the admission has been a trainee's ability to pay the required fees. The fees range from KShs.40 ($6.00) to KShs.200 ($29.00) per year.[17]

The payment of fees is a major impediment for many rural primary school graduates. A study of VPs done by Court in 1972 showed that 44% of the VP trainees were not able to finish their courses; "And of this group, 66%" claimed the shortage of fees as the main reason.[18] Many others are frustrated by the bureaucracy of certification inherited from the British. A VP graduate must pass a Grade Test in order to obtain a job and the test is written up for the modern industrial sector of the economy and is not sensitive to the non-formal training in the rural sector. So when VP students fail this test they repeat a year of school, of course paying more fees, or drop the program altogether. There must be guaranteed government funding to subsidize the VPs if the VPs are really going to serve the unemployed rural primary school graduates. Also, the government must make more effort to create tests which are relevant to the rural sector as well as the urban.

Size of Program, Source of Funds and Management

Since the inception of VPs in 1966, the number of established VPs in Kenya had increased to eighteen by 1970.[19] But in 1973 Wanjala reported that there were over 30 VPs operating in Kenya--most of them receiving grants from NCCK.[20]

In 1975 Sifuna[21] cited the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services reports which indicated that there were 53 VPs in operation but their distributions were not provided. The recent Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 stated that,

> The Ministry of Education programme for remote areas was designed to break the cycle of poverty for nomadic, pastoral peoples. The Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services has developed an extensive network of 68 Village Polytechnics which will enable them to be self-employed in rural areas.[22]

In the 68 VPs there were over 3,000 trainees. Table 2 shows the distribution of VPs in the seven provinces of Kenya.

The financing of VP training programs varies according to their scope of operation which is dictated by resources (staff, equipments, etc) and locality. At the grass-root level, the local community committees are responsible for operating a VP. Budget planning is one of the critical tasks. Because VPs are designed to serve local communities a substantial proportion of funds to cover the costs are raised locally. The support that the VPs have been receiving have been in the form of land and buildings. In addition to this "self-help" concept and cooperation, community residents play an important part. The tuition and revenue from sold products made by its trainees and sold in the local community, such as furniture or farm products, become part of a VP income. The average annual budget for each VP with 3-4 courses has been estimated to be KShs. 24,000 ($3,000) annually. Every VP has a management committee, a manager, and qualified instructors for the courses that are being offered.[23]

VPs Staffs and Personnel

The Kenya government proposed a total of 60 rural projects to which it planned to give grants-in-aid between the years 1973-74. The grants-in-aid were to be used to construct workshops, staff quarters, purchase equipment, train students, pay staff salaries and travelling allowances. Provincial Prevocational Training officers in each province were to be hired to supervise the program; four had already been hired. In addition,

TABLE II

Government-Approved Village Polytechnics, Nov. 1973

District	Number		Total Enrollment	Percentage of Total Enrollment and Population*
CENTRAL PROVINCE				
Kiambu	4		281	
Muranga	3		365	
Nyandarua	2		65	
Kirinyaga	2		232	
Nyeri	4		226	
			1,169	30.5 (15.3)
COAST PROVINCE				
Taita	4		220	
Mombasa	1		107	
Kilifi	2		74	
Kwale	3		99	
Tana River	1		37	
			437	14.0 (8.6)
EASTERN PROVINCE				
Embu	1		89	
Machakos	2		194	
Kitui	2		94	
Meru	3		203	
Isiolo	1		20	
			600	15.6 (17.4)
NORTH EASTERN PROVINCE				
Garissa	1		15	
Wajir	1		40	
Mandera	1		30	
			85	2.2 (2.2)
NYANZA PROVINCE				
Siaya	3		200	
Kisumu	2	(One new)	72	
S. Nyanza	3		211	
Kisii	3		105	
			588	15.3 (19.4)

TABLE II (cont'd.)

RIFT VALLEY PROVINCE			
Kajiado	1	26	
Narok	1	30	
Kericho	1	74	
Nandi	1	19	
Elgeyo Marakwet	1	69	
Baringo	1	30	
Laikipia	1	20	
W. Pokot	1	38	
Turkana	1	12	
		318	8.2 (20.4)
WESTERN PROVINCE			
Kakamega	4	290	
Busia	3	162	
Bungoma	2	87	
		539	14.1 (12.3)
GRAND TOTAL	67	3,836	100.0

Source: Kipkorir, B.E. "Kenya: Development and Coordination of Nonformal Programs" in Education for Rural Development (Eds.) P.H. Coombs and Manzoor Ahmed, Praegar Publishers, New York: 1975, pp. 193-194.

* Percentages of National population in the provinces are shown in parentheses. These do not add up to 100 percent, because population of Nairobi is excluded.

the Kenya government was expecting to set up a Research and Training Center. Prior to 1973, instructors and managers of VPs attended short courses held once or twice a year at Limuru Conference and Training Center. The courses were arranged by the staff at LCTC and officers from NCCK and government officers.[24]

While recent information on the follow-up of the above plans is not available at this time, the Kenya Development Plan 1974-78 pointed out that staff training programs will be included in the development of district plans for local projects.[25] Although part of this rural development has been carried out by the SRDP mentioned earlier, the nature of the staff training is not known to this writer.

The Village Polytechnic Curriculum

We can say that to a large extent that the nature and needs of rural communities dictates the type of curriculum used in VPs. While there are standard courses of traditional skills emphasized, the curriculum is not uniform across VPs in Kenya. Standard courses usually include domestic science (hygiene), carpentry, masonry, agriculture, bookkeeping, animal husbandry and academic subjects. Non-traditional courses that respond to other needs of rural communities include typing, bookkeeping, brick-making, charcoal making, pit sawing or well-digging. A more comprehensive list of courses offered in the majority of VPs provided by Anderson's[26] survey of VPs in 1970 is presented in Table 3.

The VP's curriculum is characterized by its individualized and on-the-job learning in contrast to formal schooling whose curriculum is rigid, restricted by national examinations, uniformity and standardized group-oriented structure. Unlike in the formal school system where English is the medium of instruction, the VPs usually use ethnic language or Swahili depending on locality. There is a trend, however, of using English in some VPs so students may pass the tests for certification, particularly the Government Trade Test demanded especially in the urban sectors of the Kenya economy.

Court's report on curriculum of the VPs has shown that some VPs view themselves as vocational training institutions which have more sophisticated equipment and building facilities (technical secondary schools). Thus, a kind of competition between less-equipped VPs and well-equipped vocational training centers tend to aim for a high quality curriculum which can be too expensive for local inhabitants.[28] Because of the emphasis on quality workmanship and the extent of rural poverty, such a curriculum would discourage the rural population from buying such quality goods produced by the VP trainees. As a consequence, some VPs can be put out of business. Another consequence would be the VP graduates would be forced to leave the local community without providing any economic benefit to the community or the graduates.

TABLE III

Subjects Taught in Kenya Village Polytechnics, 1970

Subjects	Number of VPs Teaching the Subject
Craft/Skill	
Carpentry	12
Masonry	7
Tailoring (male)	2
Tailoring/dressmaking (female)	2
Domestic Science, including baking and some dressmaking (female)	5
Typing (male and female)	1
Sign writing	1
Tractor driving (special course, three months)	1
Craft/Skill	
Poultry keeping (special course, three months)	1
Tin smithery (bicycle repairing, option in the evening)	1
Agriculture	
Agriculture (male)	10
Animal husbandry	1
Academic Subjects	
English	11
Mathematics	10
Technical training	3
Science	1
Hygiene (female)	2
Civics	5
Religious knowledge	7
Swahili	1
Recreational	8

Evaluation of VPs Program

Because VPs are designed to prepare the primary school graduates for either self-employment or other semi-skilled jobs, the evaluative question that needs to be asked is: "Have the VPs helped the rural primary school graduates find jobs?" And if not, "What has happened to the VP graduates?" These questions have no easy answers because in order to assess the full effectiveness of VPs we need accurate records and follow-up studies of the graduates. Although the VPs are ill-financed, there should be a branch of their administration to attempt to keep accurate records of the whereabouts of the graduates, as well as a complete semi-annual or annual inventory of their products, profits, losses and depreciations.

Who does in fact evaluate the VPs? The literature cited indicates that the Institute for Development Studies of the University of Nairobi has been the chief evaluator of the VPs. A survey undertaken by Anderson about seven years ago provided a comprehensive evaluation from a representative sample of VPs. Anderson reported that 53% and 35% of males and females respectively were in some kind of regular wage earning job. Also, 10% and 8% of males and females respectively were in some type of further training. In addition, this report indicated that about 30% of all VP graduates and nearly 37% of male graduates obtaining regular jobs have found them in the urban areas.[29]

These findings, if accurate, show that the drift into urban areas in search of better regular wage earning employment by VPs graduates has not been curbed. The aspiration for white collar jobs in the urban areas, perpetuated by our former "colonial masters" is still operating and it may take a long time to convince the growing Kenyan youths that agriculture, masonry, well-digging, etc. are valuable means of making a decent living in rural communities and are not "dirty jobs" as has been and is still conceived by our young people. The classifying of agricultural jobs as "dirty work" came with the advent of British colonialism about a hundred years ago and this concept needs to be changed.

Analysis

Before the conclusion of this paper is reached, a summary of VP goals is necessary. The format is to provide two goals and justify them.

Goal 1 and Its Justification

The practical task of Village Polytechnics is to provide those primary school graduates who are unable to further their formal education with the opportunity to utilize available immediate resources in the rural communities. The utilization of rural community resources would increase the chances for employment or self-employment.

After the achievement of independence in Kenya (December 12, 1963), formal education was seen as an important vehicle that would improve the standard of living in the society. People became optimistic because of what education could bring to them. As a consequence, the Kenya government committed a large part of its national income to education. From 1965-68 the Ministry of Education budget was increased by 40% (previous % not indicated) to a sum of £6.8 million ($21 million).[30] In 1975 the Ministry of Education reported that, the "Ministry Tops the List Again" (subheading of the budget). The report went on to say that formal education in Kenya received the highest priority for development after independence. This report further pointed out that in 1975/76 the net estimates for education was £62,851,000 ($188,553,000).[31] This amount was about 34% of the government's recurrent budget which is probably the highest in the world. And the former Minister of Education, Dr. Z. Onyonka, stated in 1975 that "The Ministry takes the lion's share of (the) National Budget. . . . "[32]

Despite such a colossal amount of money spent on formal education, the outcome shows that the system benefits only a small portion of the primary school graduates. For example, in 1971, out of 170,000 candidates who sat for CPE (Certificate of Primary Education) examination, only 14% were able to proceed on with formal education in the government and private secondary schools. The rest (86%) were faced with the scarcity of employment as reported by Somerset.[33] Sifuna futher adds that formal education is only available for a small fraction of Kenyan youth: nearly 60% enter primary education, and less than 5% make it in the formal school pyramid.[34] Also, in 1975 the Ministry of Education reported that out of 220,000 candidates who sat for CPE only 27,000 (about 14%) went on to formal secondary schools.[35] This evidence supports Somerset's report of 14% above.

Because formal education, both at primary and secondary school

levels in Kenya has been expanding, the number of graduates at these formal institutions increases each year. Hence, the growing rate of unemployment in Kenya, particularly in the rural areas, worsens each year. The accurate figures of unemployment are not easily obtained but it is one of the major national problems, especially in rural communities.

This writer predicts a continuous increase in unemployment among primary school graduates due to the introduction of universal education for grades 1-4 which started in 1973. If the primary pupils start school at about age six they will be about 14 years when they complete primary education. As a consequence two problems will arise: 1) About 14% will be able to further their formal education in the secondary schools, and 2) The remaining 86% will be too young (about 14 years old) to compete for the few available jobs. At this point there exists a gap that needs to be filled with non-formal education for 15-18 year olds. This age group requires some non-formal training that will prepare it to utilize the available resources in their rural communities. Although Kenya's Development Plan 1970-74 did plan for the expansion of the practical studies for secondary school students, there were no government programs for primary school graduates. However, the SRDP projects tend to show the government interests in rural development; but that is not enough--more actions in the form of commitments and financing and other rural non-formal education require a serious attention, both from the Kenya government and rural dwellers.

Low budget VPs are a type of non-formal education utilizing available resources and intermediate technology. The primary school graduates attending VPs would improve not only their own individual lives and incomes, but those of others in the rural communities. Formal education in Kenya tends to prepare students only for the next level of education. When students finish this formal education at a designated period, those students are unprepared for the life they will have to face in a predominantly rural nation. Because Kenya is basically an agricultural nation, this writer feels that non-formal education in the rural communities in the form of Village Polytechnics is more relevant to the population. It provides them with appropriate training and skills that are supportive of their rural life-styles. Therefore, the Kenya government should be

committed to funding these non-formal educational programs.

Goal 2 and Its Justification

In order to ensure the employemnt of its graduates, the VPs should develop and maintain a relationship or link with potential employers wherever possible, particularly in the local community.

The purpose of maintaining a link with local or outside employers is to aid in securing jobs for those potential graduates who may not be able to employ themselves due to the problems of inappropriate skills or capitalization of a small business. It is possible that after a VP graduate has accomplished certain skills, e.g. tailoring, he/she may be able to be employed as a tailor and after a couple of years he/she might have accumulated funds to rent a shop to carry on the business.

Another important necessity is for the VPs to keep contact with all the potential employers in the area and to investigate the types of employment that can be provided each year according to their needs. Such contact with potential employers along with the "self-help" concept would give the VPs some indications of what to train their students for. This base, then would motivate and enhance the hopes of the trainees. The philosophy behind such a base is that mere training with no well specified goals or purpose would not even begin to solve rural unemployment problems. For example, if you train an individual for tractor repair in an area where there are very few tractors, such an individual would be frustrated after completing his/her training and find that he could not obtain a job in tractor repair.

The principle that the labor supply responds to what the labor market demands is applied in the Kenyan context of a mixed economy. But the relevance of this policy for balanced, long term national development can be debated in light of Kenya's present problems with unemployment and poor educational opportunities. For the past fifteen years the formal school system has prepared students to meet the demands of a growing civil service and commercial sector, both of which serve, for the most part, the urban population and export interests. The Village Polytechnics are often put in a position of training students to meet the job demands of private industry while the independent needs of the rural communities may be very different. The poor state of health and

nutrition in the rural areas demands much more attention through medical and agricultural training. These demands would, for example, include bee-keeping which would provide honey for sale. Honey, a basically nutritious substance, has many uses as a sugar substitute. Hence it will be marketable. Another common or universal demand is poultry-keeping which provides eggs and chicken meat. Eggs in particular, will provide protein to the people, and as a result, the "protein" intake will improve the health of rural inhabitants. Protein deficiencies in the rarely balanced diet of many people in the developing nations, particularly in the rural communities is a serious problem and must be improved. This could be approached through something like the VP structure. Also, the state of industrial arts has deteriorated due to massive imports of manufactured goods and VPs could help rebuild home industries.

Conclusion

The principles of non-formal education, particularly the VP concepts, suggest that if the Kenya government would support these institutions, there is a likelihood of providing marketable skills to the primary school graduates in the rural communities. As a result the frustrated primary school graduates flooding urban centers in search of employment would be recognized for their important contribution to community life. The present second-class status of rural craftpersons, as perceived by the society, needs to be eliminated. Although the elimination of such perception cannot be done overnight, the Kenyan educators must be sensitive to it and help in the process to eliminate it.

Because of the fact that formal education in Kenya takes the "lion's share" of the national budget and yet only very few benefit from it, it is necessary for the Kenya government to change its priorities and fully support the non-formal educational programs, particularly in the rural sector of the economy. Though the rural population constitute a majority of Kenyans and are an important labor force, their development needs have been neglected. The government should distribute its resources and educational opportunities more evenly and respect and maintain the productive relationship between rural and urban communities, between manual and mental labor in order to help balance the needs of all the people.

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TURKEY'S FATHER OF SOCIAL SCHOOLING: ISMAYIL HAKKI BALTACIOĞLU

by

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A focal position is occupied by one person among Turkey's many philosophers of education. A role somewhat similar to that which John Dewey played in twentieth century American education belongs to Ismayil Hakki Baltacioğlu in modern Turkey. This great activist and theorist began his efforts to reform Turkish education over seventy-five years ago. By the time of his death at the age of ninety-two on April 1, 1978 he had published some thirty books on educational subjects, as well as having issued an influential journal of new educational thought, Yeni Adam (The New Man) since 1934. Yet, due to the accident of his having used a lesser known language, even today the achievements of Ismayil Hakki Baltacioglu are virtually unknown outside of the Turkish speaking world. This intellectual biography and critical analysis of half a dozen of his main concepts is offered in order to introduce Turkey's father of social schooling to readers of English.

All educational modernization and curriculum development in Turkey during the twentieth century has taken place amid revolutionary political and socio-economic changes. Baltacioğlu, himself, lived through three major political revolutions: that of the "Young Turks" in 1907, the national War for Independence and the Kemalist Revolution of 1921-1923, and the Revolution of 1960 that resulted in the acceptance of a new Constitution and the formation of the Second Turkish Republic in 1963. Agents of educational change in Turkey have had to contend with the economic effects of two World Wars and the impact that new links with Europe and the continuing Cyprus crisis have had. The context in which they work was radically altered by the language and social reforms imposed by Ataturk in the late 1920's. It has been further shaped by the construction of a modern communication system and rapid industrialization in the 1950's and 1960's. The result has been urbanization, with thousands of villagers moving into the sprawling shantytowns that now ring Turkey's major towns and cities. Several million Turkish

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workers also participated in the peaceful invasion of western Europe in recent years as "guest workers" doing menial jobs in factories.

As have all other Turkish educational theorists and pedagogical practitioners, Ismayil Hakki Baltacioğlu also spoke and acted in terms of this dynamic national context. But because his life spanned the entire gamut of the modern Turkish experience, the ways in which Baltacioğlu attempted to make his impact as an intellectual, educator, scholar and statesman are particularly illuminating. His stature in Turkish educational history equals that of Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, or Ismail Hakki Tonguç. These other theorists, however, ceased being active and passed on a long time ago. Baltacioğlu, although a contemporary of theirs, was still commenting on issues and critiquing policy decisions as recently as the mid-1970's. His first book on education, The Revolution in Instruction and Training, was published in 1910; his last, The Social Requirements of Cultural Development, in 1967. His remarkable career of over half a century often placed Baltacioğlu in the role of being a harbinger of policy trends and reforms in curriculum and instruction that were subsequently adopted by the Turkish Ministry of National Education.

Baltacioğlu's Career

Born in Istanbul, the cosmopolitan capital of the Ottoman Empire, in 1889, Baltacioğlu came into the world in the large old family home on New Fountain Street in the Cihangir section of the city. This was a Muslim Turkish area, a setting about which he has always written with affection.[1] His father, Ibrahim Ethem, was a cultured person who taught his children to be hard working idealists, proud of their heritage as Turks. Ismayil Hakki's mother was his father's second wife, a woman who possessed no formal education whatsoever; yet a person of boundless energy, tremendous will power and a sincere lover of humanity.

Within this home environment young Baltacioğlu was early introduced to a system of values in which there was a strong work ethic, familial affection, and the determination to succeed. His two sisters, Hidayet and Hatice, were born to his father's other wife; but the other son in the family, Kemal, was Ismayil Hakki's full brother. This extended family provided the setting for Baltacioğlu's maturation, enjoying the freedom of the large garden and actively at play with children's games.

When he was about five and a half years old, Ismayil Hakki was sent to a private school called the Şemsülmekatip which was located in the Kabatash section of Istanbul. He recalls the delight that he took in an illustrated reader that he used in this school. At a time when depictions of human form were frowned upon by the Muslim religious authorities, picture books were rare in Ottoman Turkey. Baltacioğlu also enjoyed watching the traditional shadow theater called karagöz, whose performances based on Turkish folklore enchanted people who passed by at the local boat landing. These days at the Şemsülmekatip remained in Baltacioğlu's memory as a time of joy and freedom. His father, however, soon registered the lad in much more formal and joyless institutions. Looking back on the years of tedious conformity and rote memorization that followed, Baltacioğlu speculates that he actually learned very little from the learning processes that were traditional in Ottoman Turkey.

After completing elementary school, Baltacioğlu attended middle school at the Fevziye Rüstiye. Much more dynamic instruction was being offered at this school, and Baltacioğlu later credited his experiences here with having inspired some of the ideas in The Revolution in Instruction and Training, which he published in 1910. Several memorable teachers introduced him to the methods of logical thinking and also encouraged his budding artistic creativity. The echoes of their impact, as well as other autobiographical material derived from his personal experience with growing up during the fading decades of the Ottoman regime, flood onto the pages of Baltacioğlu's novel, The Swamp. For example, the hero of this book, a youth named Ahmet Aykulu, is also encouraged to express himself by his middle school art teacher, Tahsin Bey, paralleling what happened to Baltacioğlu, himself.[2]

When young Baltacioğlu started his secondary education at a school called the Vefa Idadi in 1899, he discovered there the pleasure of geometric principles. He also acquired a concept of the nature of cultural change from his Islamic history teacher, Agah Bey. It was while he was a student in this school that Baltacioğlu first read about the ideas of the French Enlightenment from the pages of Rousseau's Emile. This Gallic vision of freedom from imposed external restraints forced the young man to become aware of how relatively restricted was his own

home life, and that of the other urban Turks of his generation. He also confronted the fact that traditional Ottoman society was rigidly structured. It precluded many types of activity or movements.

At this time, too Baltacioğlu experienced the tragedy of having his favorite sister, Hatice, die of tuberculosis. Ismayil Hakki, himself, contracted typhoid fever, an illness that made him value his health and outdoor activity for the rest of his life.

Baltacioğlu got his higher education at the DarulfünÛn, the predecessor of Istanbul University, where he studied the natural sciences. The friendships that he made at the University contributed much to his personal development. One of his chums named Mehmet Halil, for instance, convinced him of the past greatness of Turkish art, a field that was then despised and neglected in favor of European creations. Şinasi, another of his comrades, strengthened Baltacioğlu's resolve to employ as purely Turkish a diction and syntax as possible. Due to this attitude regarding the Turkish language, Baltacioğlu's writings have remained comprehensible over the decades when the tongue has been undergoing radical changes. In fact, his works, although written in the cultured style of Istanbul, demonstrate the wisdom of employing the words and grammatical constructions that are actually used by Turks; rather than borrowing words from European or Oriental languages, or coining new terms that are unknown to the people.

Sabri Kolçak, Baltacioğlu's chief biographer and expositor, organizes the experiences of Ismayil Hakki's public career into three main eras.[3] His first experiments as an educator were made between 1908 and 1923, during the period known as the Second Constitution after Sultan Abdul Hamid II was overthrown by the Young Turks. While he was earning his living as a civil servant, young Baltacioğlu also taught part time at a privately endowed school located in the Beyoğlu section of Istanbul. This was the part of the city inhabited by Europeans and westernized Turks. But the young instructor angrily quit this job in protest when one of his students was subjected to the bastinado, a form of punishment meted out by beating the children on the soles of their feet. The bastinado was a common practice in the Ottoman schools of that day.

Baltacioğlu's next teaching position was in the Primary Teachers' Training School where he taught penmanship, arts and crafts. Sati Bey,

one of the pioneer educational innovators of Pre-Republican Turkey, was the principal of this school. The reforms that Sati Bey had made here must have appealed to young Baltacioğlu, who was soon recognized as an instructor of promise. The Ottoman Minister of Education, Emrullah Efendi, in 1910 agreed to send him to Europe for advanced pedagogical study. It is worth pointing out, however, that by now Baltacioğlu was twenty-four years old. All of his formative years had been spent and his formal education obtained in Istanbul. The 1910 journey was his first trip outside of Turkey.

After six months at the Ecole Normale de la Seine in Paris, where he became acquainted with French pedagogy, visited the museums and attended the theater, Baltacioğlu moved on to spend some time in London. Actually, the more rigid French schools had been a disappointment to him, and he was impressed with the British concept of schools as places for living, rather than as mere sites for formal study and recitation. This concept grew in his mind to become a basic notion in his own approach to education.

He was also deeply influenced by visits that he made to see Decroly in Belgium. In Germany, he came into contact with an art theorist, Herr Seinig. Reading some of the works of John Dewey and Maria Montessori are also mentioned by Baltacioğlu as factors in his growth as a philosopher of education.

When Baltacioğlu got back to Istanbul, Sati Bey again employed him on his staff. Soon, his articles and books began appearing in print, describing his ideas about how Ottoman instruction ought to be reformed. In 1913 he was offered the opportunity to reorganize the Şemsülmekatip, the same school that he himself had attended as a little boy.

Here, Baltacioğlu introduced what were for Turkey at that time, revolutionary methods. He abandoned the use of standard primers, in favor of teaching individualized reading. Many field trips were an integral part of his instructional program. We can imagine the raised eyebrows of onlookers from behind the lattice screens of the city's harems, as Baltacioğlu's little charges filed past them on their way to visit some historic site. Baltacioğlu also organized an active school theater, even at this time when public acting was restricted largely to members of the distained Christian raya or minority group. Of course, it was Muslim children who attended his school, and for them Baltacioğlu wrote ten juvenile plays.

One of his most radical innovations was what he called a "school in the open air." This he located on rented grounds on the famous Çamilica hill in Asian Istanbul, with its breathtaking sight of the domes and minarets of the Ottoman capitol shimmering in the sun across on the European side of the Bosphorus. Çamlica was at this time legendary as a site for picnics among the intellectuals. It was a place of rendezvous for the idle, privileged class. For Baltacioğlu's students, however, rather than being a place of effete idleness, Çamlica hill provided the children with soil for gardening space for open air games, and an opportunity for outdoor experiences with nature. Such activities were unheard of in Turkish schools of that day--indeed, they are still rare in the urban schools of the country. Under Baltacioğlu's leadership. the Şemsülmekatip became co-educational--another unusual feature in Ottoman Turkey. Its students were even encouraged to exercise freedom in their clothing, rather than being forced to wear some standard attire.

All of these unique features in Ottoman Istanbul came to an abrupt halt when the First World War began. The school and its grounds were requisitioned by the government as a military barracks. When the conflict finally ended with a crushing defeat for the Central Powers with whom the Young Turk leaders had allied Ottoman Turkey, the Şemsülmekatip was unable to reopen. Istanbul and its hinterlands were occupied by the British and French troops. A feeble Ottoman government tried to carry on; but in 1919 the struggle to liberate the country, which had now been invaded by a Greek expeditionary force, was under way, led by General Mustafa Kemal.

The second major era in Baltacioğlu's professional career began with the founding of the Republic in 1923. Turks were at last the masters of thier own house, but the country that Mustafa Kemal ruled as the first President of Turkey was war weary and ravaged. Most of Baltacioğlu's time during this first decade of the Republic he spent at Istanbul University, then the country's sole seat of higher learning. Many of his early books were written during these academically oriented years.

In 1928 Baltacioglu was invited by the Minister of Education, Cemal HÜsnÜ Bey, to organize and head up the new Gazi Educational Institute that was to be opened in Ankara, the new capitol. Moving to this seat of government, which was then really a dusty provincial town, for the "new city" that Ataturk caused to be constructed was only beginning to

rise; Baltacioğlu spent seven months on his task. He prepared an extensive proposal for how the new Gazi Institute was to be developed.[4] Sadly, he was forced to resign in protest when all of his ideas were rejected by the authorities. As the disappointed Minister of Education saw Baltacioğlu off for Istanbul, he told him:

> The day will come when the views in your proposal will be accepted. But the intellectual climate and our friends aren't ready for them yet.[5]

These words were prophetic, for over the years many of the approaches that Baltacioğlu championed have been implemented in the teacher preparation schools of Turkey, including the Gazi Institute. In 1926 John Dewey had been invited to visit Turkey and he had prepared a lengthy report with many astute recommendations that fared no better than did Baltacioğlu's proposal. As a matter of fact, Dewey received a serious reading only after a new translation of his report was issued following the coup in 1960, when a few of his recommendations were implemented. The fact of the matter was that in the late 1920's the most that most Turkish intellectuals could conceive of was that their country would be able to institute a conventional "modern" school system. They could not envision, in most cases, the innovations being suggested by Dewey and Baltacioğlu. In this light, it is interesting that the movement to found Village Institutes, without doubt the most original educational institutions to be devised by modern Turks, which started in the late 1930's, was not linked to Progressive Education. It owed little to John Dewey and his disciples; and less to urban theorists in Turkey, such as Baltacioğlu. At this time, however, Baltacioğlu's response to the rejection of his ideas by the Ankara bureaucrats was to publicize them in his major educational treatise, The Society School, which was published in 1932. The concepts that were enunciated in it will be discussed when we examine the mind of Ismayil Hakki Baltacioğlu.

The next phase in Baltacioğlu's professional career followed a directive that he received from the new Minister of Education, Dr. Reşit Galip. Galip's order removed him from his position at Istanbul University, leaving him without a job. Not only were his views expressed in The Society School under attack, but he was being purged from academia as

part of a reorganization of the University along the very lines that he had long advocated, but these had now been legitimized by having been made by a foreign consultant![6] The blow was so crushing that it caused Baltacioğlu to withdraw to his home for a time. But he soon realized that he would have to find a new means of earning his livelihood.

It was at this time that he turned to journalism, becoming an educator by wielding the power of the pen. With his friend, who achieved fame as a scholar of Turkish Literature, Prof. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpinar, Baltacioğlu inaugurated a publication called The New Man. From tenuous beginnings, this developed into a healthy periodical in which Baltacioğlu's educational and cultural views were set forth. The New Man also has played an important role in pioneering children's literature in Turkey. The journal was issued over a period of some forty years, so it is a valuable source of information about educational thought and policy formation in Turkey during this time.

Finally, in 1940 Baltacioğlu was given an appointment as professor of educational history and methods at Ankara University. Then in 1942 he was elected to represent the town of Afyon in the Grand National Assembly (Turkey's Parliament) on the ticket of the Republican People's Party. This was the political institution founded by Ataturk and at the time was the sole legal party in Turkey. Ataturk had died in 1938, and the government was now headed by Ismet Inönü, under whom Baltacioğlu served. He was elected again in 1946, this time from the province of Kirşehir. However, two party politics had been inaugurated in Turkey, and in the 1950 elections the newly formed Democrat Party defeated the Republican People's Party. Baltacioğlu lost his seat in Parliament, along with many other members of his party. Not only were they out of office, but the educational policies that had been favored by the Republican People's Party were terminated. For example, the Democrats closed the national system of People's Houses and People's Rooms which had functioned for twenty years to diffuse Turkish culture among the populace, claiming that they were really political clubs.

The ideas that Baltacioğlu had popularized in The Society School and issues of The New Man were now out of favor. The Democrats turned to theorists such as Fuat Köprülü and Mumtaz Turhan, who took a much more traditional view regarding Islam, advocated a European type of education

in Turkish lycees and universities, and were elitist in their views about policies regarding the Turkish villagers who comprised some 70 percent of the population. Baltacioğlu withdrew from political life and retired from teaching. However, his activities during more than twenty-five years of retirement have equaled those of the previous eras of his life.

Since 1950, when the third era of his career began, Baltacioğlu has been able to resume his writing and editing. He was again able to put out The New Man, as well as voluminous other works. Perhaps his most famous project was the translation of the Holy Koran from Arabic into modern Turkish, which he published in 1957. When it is realized that Arabic is a foreign language, a Semitic tongue that is not even cognate to Ural-Altaic Turkish, the importanct of this great undertaking can be appreciated. It is also a radical thing to do, as in the belief of orthodox Muslims, the Holy Koran is not transmutable; existing only in Arabic, the language of Allah. Baltacioğlu's translation is not the only one into Turkish, but it has had an important effect in making the Islamic scriptures available to ordinary Turkish citizens. In addition, Baltacioğlu's articles have appeared in many newspapers and journals, and he has given hundreds of lectures and seminars in Turkish lycees and universities.

The coup of 1960 that forcibly removed the Democrat Party from power, also ushered in an interim in which the national educational policy was more akin to Baltacioğlu's views. It looked as though, at last, the kind of curriculum and instructional methods that he advocated would be adopted. In this hopeful climate he issued a powerful statement of his mature educational philosophy in 1964. Called Revolution in Pedagogy, it was an updated and expanded version of his earlier position. The Social Requirements for Cultural Development, his major statement of anthropological philosophy, was published by the Ministry of Education in 1967 as one volume in a series called "Research for Developing the Turkish National Education Theory." It was an indication that the nation's official policy makers were paying attention to what Baltacioğlu had been saying.

Within only a few years, however, the course of the confrontation regarding national development in Turkey veered from the direction that it had seemed to be taking in the early 1960's. Rather than a reformist

coalition government, the Justice Party which in many ways adhered to the policies of the previously discredited Democrats came into power. Its chief educational spokesman was Cahid Okurer, whose philosophy basically differed from the perspectives which Baltacioğlu articulated. More impactful was the radical collision that began to occur between the conservative and even reactionary adherents of Islamic traditionalism, known as the "commandos," whose educational outlook was drawn from the writings of the late Nurettin Topçu; and the Marxist oriented leftists, whose educational premises were communicated by writers such as Fakir Baykurt and Mahmut Makal. The parameters of the controversy over educational theory, and most other aspects of national policy as well, were shifted to these two rather extreme positions (as to some extent has also occurred in the United States during the same era.) The moderate views of Baltacioğlu that envisioned the gradual modernization of Turkey' social structure, while retaining its unique Islamic cultural heritage, now seemed too mild for many people. When the heat of the present controversy has died down, however, it will be discovered that neither Marxism nor traditional Islam hold the keys to Turkey's future. Rather, as Baltacioğlu recognized, means must be found for Turks to take their rightful place in western civilization while maintaining many functional values from the heritage of their own unique Islamic culture.

Baltacioğlu's Educational Outlook

Culture, in Ismayil Hakki Baltacioğlu's view, consists of all the processes by which groups of people make value judgments. Religion, language and the arts are the foundations of every culture, he asserts. The indigenous heritage is preserved chiefly in these three realms, which are also the main vehicles for cultural dimensions, both in order to transmit the national tradition and also to provide acquaintance with emerging concepts that will eventually alter it. There should be no clash between Turkish culture and western civilization. Both are necessary in the education of modern Turks and are dimensions of the whole cultural repertory available to youth.

In common with other Turkish theorists, Baltacioğlu also had to deal with the enigma of a national history that has both glorious and humiliating aspects. It is the "swamp" causing a lack of healthy identity,

purpose and will power in Baltacioğlu's "new men." In view of this grim reality, he believed that history must cease being merely a narration or narrow exposition of the past. It must have an affective as well as a cognitive impact through expressive activities such as music, poetry and dramatizations. In these ways young people can imbibe the collective memory of a past in which Turks worked to achieve worthy goals, resist tyranny and create better social conditions. This doesn't involve only getting acquainted with national heroes and heroines, but means discovering the patterns in the Turkish ways of doing things. Turkish youth will then be prepared to adapt and modernize their own heritage, rather than uncritically borrowing alien methods and foreign ideologies. Baltacioğlu cites the Santa Claus myth as an example of a foreign notion that is dysfunctional for Muslim Turks and distracts them from the job of evolving a new society within the framework of their own culture.[8]

Baltacioğlu attacked the domination of printed matter, memorization, subservience to intellectualism and positive logic, and dependence on written examinations that characterize formal learning today. Rather, he asserted that true knowledge always involves the whole human being. We have knowledge, he believed, when we have acquired a workable heritage of conduct and values linked with the most effective means available for meeting our personal and social needs. This integral knowledge comes from engaging in a way of life so that, in the Koranic sense, the person is "setting forth or declaring" knowledge by acting upon it and making it manifest.[9]

This wholistic and practical education Baltacioğlu intends not only for urban Turks, but for Turkish villagers as well. They too, he believed, can creatively adapt their culture, provided modernization doesn's destroy its essential structure or "introduce the exotic in place of civilization, and bring the luxurious rather than the comfortable." He argued that villagers don't need mandolins to replace their native musical instruments, nor do they need to find out how to make salami instead of pastirma (a kind of spiced meat).[10]

All education, Baltacioğlu asserted, should be in "society schools" where the national outlook and deportment are communicated, and where socialization occurs. Such schools, he believed, can convey an understanding of the problems and potentialities of the Turkish society. In

"society schools" religion would be studied by examining the function beliefs have in society. The dialects of Turkish might be explored to learn about language. And science would be recognized as a dimension of artistic study; a way of coping with and interpreting the world.[11] In short, Baltacioğlu advocated learning through doing many activities geared to the needs and interests of the students and their society. These were his closing words when I interviewed him in 1971.

> A country that does not recognize values cannot develop. No matter how smart a person may be, if you wish to let him be a genius, if he has never set hands down at the keys of a piano, he is not going to be able to play Wagner or Beethoven just by happenstance. The issue for education is a similar one.[12]

Notes and References

1 See I.H. Baltacioğlu, "Hayatim" (My Life), Yeni Adam, Issues 142-360, September 17, 1938 to November 20, 1941.

2 I.H. Baltacioğlu, Batak. Istanbul: Sebat Basimevi, 1943, p. 12 f.

3 Sabri Kolçak, I.H. Baltacioğlu: Egitimin Felsefesini Yapan Pedagog. Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaasi, 1968, p. 45 f.

4 I.H. Balticioğlu, Bu layiha Terbiye. Istanbul: , 1932.

5 Kolçak, I.H. Baltacioğlu, p. 60.

6 Albert Malche, Istanbul Üniversitesi hakkinda Rapor. Istanbul: Devlet Basimevi, 1939.

7 I.H. Baltacioğlu, Kültürce Kalkinmanin Sosyal Şartlari. Istanbul: Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1967, pp. 6 f.

8 This is the theme of Baltacioğlu's novel, Batak (Swamp), and there is also a section on teaching history in Toplu Tedris. Istanbul: Sebat Basimevi, 1938.

9 I.H. Baltacioğlu, Pedagojide Ihtilal. Istanbul: 1964, p. 91.

10 Baltacioğlu, "Köye Dogru" (To the Village) in Batiya Doğru. Istanbul: Sebat Basimevi, 1945, p. 185.

11 Toplu Tedris, pp. 7-20.

12 Oral history with I.H. Baltacioğlu by F.A. Stone in Ankara, Turkey on June 23, 1971. Translated by the author.

PROGRAMMING FOR THE "FREE TIME" IN WEST GERMAN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS: SOCIAL PEDAGOGICS

by

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The introduction of integrated comprehensive secondary schools[1] as "experimental models" in the states of the Federal Republic of Germany since the late 1960's has generally meant two simultaneous innovations. Not only do these experimental models unify the three strands of the tripartite secondary school system into an integrated common curriculum; about one-half of the comprehensive schools have become all-day schools, with school hours between approximately 8 and 4 over five days per week, rather than the customary school day of 8-1 six days per week of the regular schools. The two transformations rest partly on identical rationales that also guide the programming for the free time (Freizeitbereich) made available by the longer number of school hours. This paper deals with the manner in which the objectives of the free time domain are viewed and implemented.

The Comprehensive Schools and Social Learning

The standard school system of the Federal Republic of Germany has three secondary institutions. After basic school of four or six years about half of the pupils attend the Haupt schule until grade 9. It leads to apprenticeships in less skilled occupations with simultaneous attendance, part-time, in vocational schools (Berufsschule) for three years or until age 18. Another quarter of the pupils attend the Realschule which lasts until grade 10 and requires a leaving examination, the "middle maturity" (Mittlere Reife). The Realschule leads to apprenticeships in more skilled occupations and two years of simultaneous part-time attendance in vocational schools. The remaining quarter of the pupils attend the gymnasium which provides schooling until grade 13 and leads to the "higher school maturity" or Abitur. Successful passing of the examination, achieved by about half the pupils in the gymnasium, entitles entry to higher education.[2]

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Although the fraction of pupils qualified for university has risen about three-fold since 1950, turning the tripartite system somewhat into an avenue of social mobility. the children from working class parents are still greatly underrepresented among them. In 1972, only 18.2% of them were from working class families, in contrast to 38.4% from white collar families (Angestellte) and 37.7% from families of officials and self-employed (Beamte and Selbständige).[3]

Two arguments have been advanced against the tripartite system in favor of comprehensive schools.[4] The system is inefficient and inflexible, and consequently unable to develop the human resources needed by a changing technological society. This handicaps society because it cannot call upon the range of potential talents. This technocratic argument is of no further interest in this paper.

The second argument begins with the above.[5] Society's loss of potential talents is even more of a loss to the individuals whose own talents find no opportunity for development. Moreover, as the data show, the burden is unequally distributed among socio-economic classes and falls most heavily on the children of the working class. Comprehensive schools overcome this problem by treating children as individuals and taking care of learning differentials through individualization of instruction rather than by fitting children into three distinct groups. Moreover, decisions are made continuously rather than at one, fairly early point in the school career.

Also, by bringing children from all classes of society together in one school and one classroom, social experiences are provided which make children aware of each other's differences and teach them that modern society depends on contributions from a wide range of individuals with a wide range of skills who must learn to live and function cooperatively with each other.[6] Only a comprehensive school will assure that the necessary distinctions, based on educational differentials, will be made on the basis of developed and achieved merit rather than social background or other illegitimate bases.

It should be noted that the development of the experimental comprehensive schools in the Federal Republic is numerically insignificant. In 1976, only 152 such schools existed, nearly half of them in the state of Hessen, two dozen each in the states of Nordrhein-Westfalen and West

Berlin, and about a dozen or fewer in each of the other states.[7] Even in Hessen, only about 15% of the pupils attended comprehensive schools.[8] For the nation as a whole it probably is fewer than 1% of the secondary school enrollment with the rest of the pupils in one of the tripartite institutions.

The All-Day School and Social Learning

The primary motive behind the recommendation for change of FRG schools from half-day to all-day is adaptation to conditions in society. With more households in which both parents work, it has become important to provide supervision for the children.[9] Moreover, the work week is slowly changing to five days, which makes Saturday school an inconvenience in parental planning.

But parents have a second objective for the all-day school. The non-instructional "free-time" of the 40-hour school week of the half-day school is seen as an opportunity for extending the range of experiences of their children because during that time "they are cast together for living and learning with others who differ with respect to origin, predispositions, interests, experiences, etc., and because they are able to develop these aptitudes which cannot be developed in the framework of the traditional course structure."[10]

The all-day school thus has two objectives that coincide with those of the comprehensive schools. The free time domain allows certain kinds of individual development not available within the regular course structure. It also extends the social experiences needed by the pupils. All-day school development has been independent of the development of the comprehensive schools and there are several hundred all-day schools that are not comprehensive secondary schools.[11] On the other hand, nearly 90% of the comprehensive schools outside the state of Hessen are also all-day schools. None of the 64 in Hessen are of that form.[12] Outside of Hessen, comprehensive school development and all-day school development have clearly gone on in support of one another.

The Relationship of School and Free Time: Social Pedagogics

Both comprehensive school and all-day school thus have as mutual goals, to translate a succinct statement, "social justice and equality, and self-determination and co-determination."[13] They achieve these by

the opening up of possibilities in the direction of greater individualization, self-direction, social integration and mutual respect. But opening up of possibilities does not automatically lead to their realization. In fact, the school is an imperfect vehicle for those objectives because

> School in this (German) society (including the comprehensive school) is primarily oriented toward *optimization of and selection for achievement.* (Italics in original) This leads to a peripheral status for the non-instructional domain: free time, in this perspective, has the primary function of recreating the pupil's capability to achieve.
>
> Legal and organizational conditions of the *school as an institution* make it extraordinarily difficult to realize in the school forms of learning and of communication that are free of constraint.
>
> The German public school system has next to *no tradition* with the arrangement of al all-day school. Teachers are almost exclusively oriented toward organizing of learning processes that have to do with the "through-put of subject matter." Consequently, they are frequently helpless with respect to the problems of the free time domain.[14]

This has led the all-day comprehensive schools to develop a program of informal education centered in the free time and led by social pedagogues (Sozialpaedagoge) whose responsibilities are a mixture of recreation leadership, group counseling, and developmental counseling. Their responsibilities are broad and varied but may be summarized in five domains:

1. To organize activities for the free time, chiefly the long (45-120 minute) lunch break and after school, that help pupils recuperate for and from instruction while at the same time serving the personal, social and developmental goals of social learning.
2. To supervise these activities but also the unorganized free time activities of pupils.
3. To plan varied trips, special days, weeks in the country school home (Landschulheim), etc.
4. To plan grade- and school-wide activities: table tournaments, track and field days, inter-grade contests, etc.

5. To counsel students and groups of students, including counseling of disciplinary problems.

Although predominately non-formal, the program of social pedagogics intersects with the regular school program in at least three ways:

1. The range of activities cannot possibly be managed by a small group of social pedagogues but requires substantial assistance from teachers (for whom it is "on load").

2. Many schools have added blocks of mandated free time into their schedule to assure that all pupils are scheduled for social learning. This has become the responsibility of social pedagogues.

3. There is extensive discussion that social pedagogics will serve as the backdoor for opening the regular school to the kinds of activities and social relationships fostered by it, like,

a. moving instruction into the community and bringing community members into the classroom to assist instruction;

b. changing the course content to take account of the pupils' own background and experiences;

c. changing the rigidity of class groupings and reducing the formality of relationships between pupils and teachers.[15]

Space Provisions for Social Pedagogics

All the comprehensive schools I visited and those described in the literature[16] are new and specifically designed for all-day operation. This means, first of all, that they have cafeterias. Also, they have rooms where pupils can congregate informally, usually at least a room for board games, some lounges that may include a snack bar, a room for dancing or discotheque, and space for unorganized "noisy" games--often the entry hall and corridors. These are wide and attractive so that active games can easily take place there. Physical behavior, like running, is tolerated and the halls are beehives of activity during the pauses. All these spaces except for the discotheque are usually available during all pauses; playroom and lounges are available for unscheduled periods as well.

During the noon recess and after school, the facilities designed for social pedagogics are supplemented by classrooms, shops, laboratories,

and the gymnasium for interest and hobby groups. The gymnasium tends to be scheduled fully for these activities.

The best resources for social pedagogics exist in the schools that have youth clubs attached to the school buildings. Youth clubs (Haus der Jugend) are social and recreation centers for the 14 year and up including those who have left school. They normally have comfortable lounges, discotheques, and hobby rooms for model building, music, motorcycle repair, etc. When the youth club is attached to the school, its facilities are available to the school for free time activities with supervision shared between social pedagogues and the recreation personnel of the youth club. This means larger and more attractive social rooms, and generally less pressure on free time facilities.[17]

Programming for Social Pedagogics

The most important programming occurs during the noon break when a variety of interest and hobby groups, called work communities (Arbeitsgemeinschaften), meet. These are comparable to the minicourses in American schools, though they are intended to last for at least a semester. A bulletin board serves as a means for advertising what interests teachers are willing and able to lead, or what pupils would like to do. Interested participants then sign up, and the social pedagogues arrange for space, or for a leader and space in the case of interests initiated by pupils. Pupils or parents and other community members may serve as leaders though there must be adult supervision. In the Staudinger Schule, Freiburg-Haslach, which was not completed when I visited in 1977--it had no cafeteria and consequently lost a large number of pupils who went home for lunch--about one-fourth of the students participated in at least one interest group, about 10% in two or more. These included 13 sport or gymnastics groups, 7 music groups, 8 art groups, and 11 miscellaneous groups, like Spanish, cooking, typing, Third World concerns, and nursing.[18] These groups meet weekly, though some subjects are repeated.

There are specific attempts to develop pupils' leadership in the interest groups as well as in all other components of the free time program. Pupils take responsibility for managing the equipment and game loan, or for operating the snack bar.[19] Staff work carefully with

participants to establish ground rules for the lounges and the discotheque.[20] The social pedagogues regard the development of student initiative and responsibility as more important than providing activities for them. This is where they distinguish social pedagogics from recreation leadership. Furthermore, in ther supervisory-disciplinary function which sometimes requires them to intervene in problem situations they are also conscious of the isolate--the pupil who has made no contacts with peers during the free time. They intervene and counsel in both kinds of problem situations, and seek referrals from teachers for counseling.

Another group of activities for which social pedagogues are responsible consists of supplementary learning activities like field trips, the annual week at the country school home, ski weeks, summer hiking weeks, etc. Some schools have developed activities of this kind that have no parallel in the United States.

The comprehensive school at Dortmund, for instance, organized a "project week," a two week activity for the entire school of 1500 pupils and 80 teachers and parents to work in interest groups all day and without regard to age or grade placement. Each group chose a theme, like energy in the economy, fishing, French cooking, farms in the vicinity of Dortmund, or slaves in the USA and their songs, and worked on it intensively in school and out in the community.[22]

The actual learning was substantial, but perhaps more important was the process of learning that accompanied the project. Before the project was decided on, there were long and intensive discussions in various teacher committees, parallel discussions among parent committees, and in the individual classes, and the grade and school-wide pupil committees. Only after these discussions did the joint school conference of teachers, parents, and pupil representatives decide affirmatively.[23]

Thereafter came the equally extensive planning process by an organizing committee which had to select themes for discussion and provide outlines of activities for the whole school to choose from. It then had to allocate pupils to the groups of choice. In fact, it set up one theme group to keep track of, coordinate, and evaluate the work of all the other theme groups and of the entire project week. Finally, within each theme group the participants jointly with the leader determined specific group activities and the division of responsibilities among them.

Thus at all stages of the project there were opportunities for social learning and activities which are not normally available in a German classroom.

A different project with similar objectives was a "study day" devoted to "stress in the school" at the Staudinger Schule in Freiburg-Haslach.[24] It is well-known that 10th graders begin to show signs of serious stress toward the end of the school year when they approach the "middle maturity" examination that seriously influences their chances for further study or for a good apprenticeship. Moreover, their whole environment including the media seem to point to the day of the examination and thus heighten the stress. The study day was organized to help come to grips with the stress. It began with a group of teachers discussing the pros and cons of achievement in school work to the whole class. Ten small groups then worked on various topics related to stress and achievement. At the end of the day the groups came together for reports and further discussion. Planning and execution again gave opportunity for social learning. What was unexpected was the participation in the discussion by all pupils, and the number of effective recommendations made by the groups to change stress-inducing aspects of school operation that were amenable to direct change. In addition, the participants got a better perspective on how stress arose and what kinds of action they could take to help themselves reduce it.

Conclusion

The German all-day comprehensive secondary schools have developed non-formal programs for social learning in the free time under the direction of staff members called social pedagogues to assure that social learning was given attention on an adequate basis in the school. While the social pedagogues work chiefly in the free time domain, the concepts of their work reach into the domain of formal instruction so that the rigidities of the classroom setting are giving way to greater pupil self-determination and co-determination. How this has happened can be seen from the examples given above, and from the work schedule of a social pedagogue at the Staudinger Schule in Freiburg-Haslach:[25]

ACTIVITIES WITH PUPILS	MINUTES/WEEK
Assisting interest groups	200
Supervision of free time	300
Group counseling (two groups)	240
Group advisement (seven groups)	350
Individual counseling	150
Advising student council	200
Tournaments, class days, etc.	150
ACTIVITIES WITH TEACHERS	
Visits to classrooms for observation, consultation and recommendations on group processes, etc.	960
Consultations with teachers,	90
individual groups	330
Participation in teacher committee meetings	430
ACTIVITIES WITH PARENTS AND THE COMMUNITY, INCLUDING COMMUNITY AGENCIES	425

This adds to a hefty 65-hour work week, of which only two hours are allotted to preparation for the many activities. In contrast, a teacher depending on subject specialty and training must teach around 24 class hours with the remaining work week alloted to preparation and grading. Still the table shows the many different ways in which social pedagogues are used in addition to filling the free time domain with social learning, and underscores, because of the heavy time demands, the important contributions mady by social pedagogics to the entire school program.

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Notes and References

1 There are two kinds of comprehensive school in the Federal Republic of Germany: differentiated schools join the three tracks of the tripartite school system in one building; integrated schools integrate their programs. Since this paper deals entirely with the integrated schools, the adjective "integrated" is dropped in the further discussion.

2 Hans-Peter Schäfer, "Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in Oskar Anweiler, Bildungssysteme in Europa, Weinheim and Basel: Beltz Verlag (1976).

3 ibid, page 47.

4 Jürgen Raschert, Gesamtschule: ein gesellschaftliches Experiment, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag (1974). pages 34-39.

5 Berndt Frommelt and Georg Rutz, Gesamtschule in Hessen, Hannover: Hermann Schoedel Verlag (1972). pages 28-29.

6 ibid, page 30.

7 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft Gesamtschule, Gesamtschule als Ganztagsschule, Hoisbüttel: Arbeitsmaterialien 7/76. page 2.

8 Der Hessiche Kultusminister, Bildungspolitische Informationen, Nr. 1/77, Weisbaden: Hessische Kultusminister (1977). page 22.

9 Landeselternrat der Gesamtschulen Nordrhein-Westfalen, Stellungsnahme zum Schulversuch Integrierte und Differenzierte Gesamtschule, Münster: Landeselternrat (1974). page 7.

10 ibid, pages 7-8.

11 Hartmut Wagner, Socialpädagogische Arbeit an Gesamtschulen, Freiburg: Staudinger-Gesamtschule (1977). Mimeograph page 2.

12 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft Gesamtschule, loc. cit. page 2.

13 ibid, page 8.

14 ibid, page 5.

15 ibid, page 11.

16 See, for instance, H. Mastmann, Gesamtschule, Ein Handbuch, Schwalbach bei Frankfurt/Main: Wochenschau Verlag (1972). pages 77-85; Wolfgang Keim, Gesamtschule, Bilanz Ihrer Praxis, Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag (1976). pages 59-84. Frommelt and Rutz, loc. cit. pages 42-65.

17 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft Gesamtschule, loc. cit. pages 12-18.

18 Staudinger-Gesamtschule, Liste der Freizeitprojekte und AGs, unpublished, March 1977.

19 Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft Gesamtschule, loc. cit. pages 46-51.

20 Hartmut Wagner, Hinweise zur Arbeit von Lehrern im Freizeitbereich aus Sozialpaedagogischer Sicht, Freiburg: Staudinger-Gesamtschule (1976). Mimeographed. page 11.

21 E. Georgi et al., Rahmenkonzept für den Fachbereich Sozialarbeit an der Schule, Freiburg: Gesamtschule Freiburg-Haslach (1974) page 16.

22 W. Berger et al., Projektwochen--Weg zur Entschulung? Dortmund: Gesamtschule der Stadt Dortmund (1977) Mimeographed.

23 These committes are elected in conformance with state law which gives them sepcific authority in the operation of schools. The joint school conference is likewise a state-sanctioned body.

24 Staudinger-Gesamtschule, Auswertung des Studientages, Stress in der Schule. Freiburg: Staudinger-Gesamtschule (1976) Mimeo.

25 E. Georgi et al., Tätigkeitsbeschreibung für eine Sozialpädagogin, Freiburg: Staudinger-Gesamtschule (1975) Mimeo.

THE HAIKU AND THE TEA CEREMONY
NON-FORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH THE ARTS OF JAPAN

by

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If the mind is not overlaid with
wind and waves,
You will always be living among
blue mountains and green trees.
Hung Tzu-ch'eng

It is said that during the Tokugawa era, a certain daimyo (lord) was on his way to Tokyo in order to pay an official visit to the shogun (ruler). His teamaster accompanied him so that he would be able to participate in the ceremony during his stay. To assure his safe passage, the teamaster, who was also a monk, disguised himself as a samurai, donning the customary two swords at his hip. While he walked through the streets of the capital one day, he was challenged by a ferocious warrior. Of course, the real samurai had no idea that he was challenging a monk to a duel. The monk, for his part, would have been killed immediately, if he had admitted his deception. He was not afraid of dying, but only of dying ignobly. Although he had never been trained in fencing, he accepted the challenge and a time and place were chosen.

The monk immediately sought the services of a renowned fencing master, and asked him to demonstrate the first fencing position. He wished to be able to take the correct posture, so that he might face the samurai's death blow with dignity. Although the fencing master was a bit overwhelmed at this request, he did his best to teach the monk. At the anpropriate time, the monk appeared before the samurai, held his sword high, bowed his head, and waited for the fatal blow. There was a long pause, after which the real samurai, amazed at the purity of the monk's stance, dropped his sword. The monk's posture was so perfect that the samurai asked to be admitted as his disciple.[1]

This amusing anecdote provides some insight into the influence of

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Zen on the Japanese dō (ways). Whether it be cha-do, the way of tea, kendo, the way of the sword, or ka-do, the way of flowers--all are expressions of a deep spiritual state. All aim at the unification of man's spirit with nature and the universe, with the resultant surrender of the more limiting ego. It is true that the monk was a master of the "way of tea," but the state of mind necessary to become proficient in that art was no different from that required to become expert at fencing. With only brief instruction, he was able to assume a perfect fencing stance.

It is the thesis of this paper that the introduction of Zen Buddhism into Japan in the twelfth century served directly to enhance and develop many of the art forms currently associated with that culture. These art forms influenced not only the elite, but permeated the values and aesthetic taste of the Japanese people as a whole. The informal teaching techniques by which these fundamentals were transmitted were derived from the exchanges between monk and roshi (master) in the Zen monasteries. They were very effectively applied to the secular society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is the contention of the author that variations of these same techniques might well be applicable to an American educational setting.

In order to understand the relationship of Buddhism to Japanese culture, it is important to review these indigenous characteristics which manifested themselves long before Buddhist religion and Confucian ethics were introduced. According to Anesaki,[2] the people who are now referred to as Japanese have inhabited the string of islands on the periphery of Eastern Asia since the beginning of recorded history. Although their origin is uncertain, it is known that these people invaded the islands, forcing the aborigines to the east and north. One particularly powerful group settled in Kyushu, and it is from this stock that the rulers of the island arose. At the same time that the aborigines were being pressed back, turmoil at home was forcing some inhabitants of China and Korea to immigrate to the islands. Yet, despite the heterogenous characteristics of its people, Japan was able to achieve national unity very early in its history. Several factors may account for this phenomenon. Geographically, the country was protected from large scale immigration or invasion by its rough seas and mountain ranges. When

immigrants did arrive, they came in small groups and were easily accepted into the mainstream.

An even stronger element in the unification was the energetic character of the people. They were held together by the belief that they descended from the heavenly gods and by the conviction that the Sun-goddess was the ultimate protectress of the royal family and the nation. The peculiar combination of military fervor and deep religious faith is recorded throughout the history of the Japanese and seems to remain a facet of their temperament.

Two other qualities that re-echo as themes are their close affinity with nature and their inclination toward the communal life. The influence of land and climate on Japanese poetry and artistic expression is undeniable. The temperate climate, the great variety of scenery, and the almost complete absence of dangerous animals contributed to the development of a tranquil people and an orderly way of life. The blue waters and gentle slopes apparently struck a responsive note in the hearts of the people and an abiding love of nature became one of the distinguishing characteristics of their national life.

A description of Japanese patterns of thought and behavior would be incomplete without considering the whole range of beliefs which is known as Shinto, "The Way of the Gods." "The God who originally founded this country is the God who descended from Heaven and established this State in the period when Heaven and Earth became separated, and when trees and herbs had speech."[3] Shinto was inspired by man's profound sense that he was a part of the living energy that sustained the earth. It was a communal cult which permeated the lives and traditions of the people. They lived in intimate relation to plants and animals, and even to rocks and trees, for the same spirit that animated other forms of nature, dwelt in the poeple, as well.

Sometime around the sixth century A.D. artisans began to arrive from China and Korea. They imported both decorative and useful products and introduced the Japanese to the wonder of the written word. They also served as missionaries of Confucian ethics and of the Buddhist religion. The first Buddhist recorded living in Japan was Shiba Tachito, who arrived from China in 522, and was soon recognized as the leader of a new movement. This Buddhism taught the fundamental unity of all beings

and the ultimate goal of reaching supreme enlightenment, as its founder had experienced many years before in India. In this highest state the adherent realized in a moment of unmistakeable insight that the whole universe was joined in spiritual communion. Buddhism flourished in Japan, but it was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that the introduction of the Zen sect from China added a new perspective to religious life. It stimulated the artistic imagination and served as a powerful teaching tool in the promulgation of Buddhist values and aesthetic ideals.

Zen is a Japanese work, derived from the Chinese Ch'an, which in turn comes from the Sanskrit Dhyana, meaning meditation. This is, perhaps, an unfortunate emphasis, for Zen, in fact, lays no more stress on meditation than many other Eastern sects, and its aim is not an other-worldly state of mind, but rather a one-pointed awareness which is as applicable to baking a pie as it is to participating in a religious service. It is believed that Zen originated with the Buddha's supreme insight in the fifth century B.C., and that this understanding was transmitted through a line of twenty-eight Patriarchs until it came to Bodhidharma, who brought Zen to China in the sixth century A.D. This intuition was passed from person to person through a "direct transmission" from one mind to another, though the message was comprehensible only to those students far enough advanced to grasp the teacher's state of consciousness. When the intuitive breakthrough occurred so that the disciple realized the same deep truth as the master, it was said that they saw "inner eye to inner eye" or, in Chinese terms, they "locked eyebrows together."

Zen has been called an "asceticism of the mind." It is wary of words and concepts, because they are so liable to detach themselves from the realities they represent. Zen is impatient of anything that blurs our direct perception of reality, and the whole object of the training is to make us aware that Zen is our daily experience and not something that we "get" from an extrinsic source. Tenno Dogo brought home this fact in his teaching of the monk, Sōshin. Soshin expected to receive formal lessons from the master and was perplexed and disappointed when Dogo failed to follow this format. Finally, he got up his courage and and asked the master point blank why he had been given no guidance in

his search for the essence of Zen teaching. The master registered surprise.

> "Why every hour I have been giving you lessons in this matter," he replied.
>
> Soshin, now completely bewildered, inquired how this could be.
>
> The master explained, "When you bring me a cup of tea in the morning, I take it; when you serve me a meal, I accept it; when you bow to me, I return it with a nod. How else do you expect to be taught in the mental discipline of Zen?"
>
> Soshin's mind went buzzing round in circles at this answer, but Dogo quickly reprimanded him.
>
> "If you want to see, see right at once. When you begin to think, you miss the point."

This Zen mind is referred to by Dogen Zenji and, more recently, by Shunryu Suzuki as "the beginner's mind." It manifests the childlike quality of encountering each event with a consciousness that is empty, thus open to all possibilities. It does not prejudge or categorize. This is not to suggest that Zen denigrates the intellect, which after all, performs functions that are essential to our humanity. It is through this tool that man is able to compare, select, and evaluate. But the intellect is an instrument insufficient to the task of living a full and complete life. To paraphrase Watts, "The intellect makes an efficient servant, but a dreadful master."

R. H. Blyth, the expert on Zen in English literature, lists three deficiencies of this faculty.[5] First, it encroaches upon the domain of religion and attempts to answer questions which, of their nature, are not amenable to cognitive solutions. Secondly, it undermines the realm of imagination and disparages that poetic sense of wonder which is the source of so much creativity. Finally, it sets up systems and dogmas which most often have the effect of fettering the mind rather than liberating it. Perhaps, Blyth is guilty of overstating the case, but few would argue with Suzuki when he says of the intellect:

> . . . It upsets the blissful peace of ignorance, and yet it does not restore the former state of things by offering something else. . . . It is not final; it waits for something higher than itself for the solution of all the questions it will raise, regardless of the consequences.[6]

This "something higher" of which Suzuki speaks is the state of consciousness that the great masters of the haiku, the sumi-ye, and the tea ceremony have attempted to evoke in their audience. Their medium, while taking years to perfect, is but a way of expressing their inner spirit which is, after all, the same spirit that underlies all reality. When the individual ego is minimized, the unconscious potential is allowed expression, and it is then that the artist becomes the source of wonderful accidents.

In structure, the haiku is more like the title of a poem than a poem itself. It hardly seems possible that this seventeen-syllable string of words could express any deep stirrings of the heart or give adequate scope to a transcendental theme. But, in this case, brevity of form has nothing to do with value of content. For, at those moments when we feel most deeply, we often find words superfluous. When we are overwhelmed by beauty, or experiencing intense pain, or on the verge of death, the words we utter are few, yet of profound significance. It is at those times when we are most deeply ourselves that the haiku becomes the most appropriate mode of expression.

Basho, whose name means banana plant, was a lay student of Zen, and one of Japan's most remarkable poets. He had the capacity to intuit the rhythm of life and express this sense in his art. Basho particularly delighted in representing the seasons in their ever-changing continuity. Whether it was the "Eternal Aloneness" of autumn,

A branch shorn of leaves,
A crow perching on it--
This autumnal eve.

or the gaiety of the flowers of spring, which he perceived with the eye of a child,

"I do not like children"
For him who says this
No flowers bloom.

or, perhaps, his theme required a bit more depth of understanding

Under one roof,
Prostitutes, too, were sleeping:
The bush covers and the moon.

As this solitary poet was wandering, he happened upon two prostitutes journeying to the Ise Shrine. Since they all stayed at a nearby inn that evening, Basho became a sympathetic listener as they poured out the details of a life they detested. In order to place this tragic situation in a more universal framework, he incorporated the prostitutes, the flowers, and himself in a transcendental setting. No longer were the prostitutes viewed from the perspective of their sordid lives, for they expressed the same Buddha nature as the flowers, and even as the moon which shone on good and evil indiscriminately.

The transmission of this art form showed a very definite relationship to the interchange between Tenno Dogo and Soshin that was quoted previously. The method by which the eighteenth century poetess Chiyo was taught is illustrative of the influence of the Zen monastic technique on the masters of the haiku. Chiyo had achieved a high degree of skill with the haiku, but she still experienced uneasiness because she realized that she was not able to express her deepest feelings. When a traveling poet wandered through her village, she told him of her desire to write a really inspired haiku. He instructed her to write a verse on a conventional Japanese subject, the cuckoo. Chiyo brought several haiku to the poet, but he rejected her every attempt, insisting that it was not true to her inner feeling. At each refusal she became more distracted, because she felt that she was composing to the best of her ability. One night she concentrated on the subject so intensely that before she knew it dawn was breaking. It was at this moment that the following haiku came to her.

Hototogisu	Calling "cuckoo," "cuckoo,"
Hototogisu tote	All night long,
Akenikiri	Dawn at last!

When she showed this poem to the master he accepted it immediately. It was obvious to him that it was devoid of any artifice and that it communicated the poet's genuine feeling about the "hototogisu." In a real haiku there must be no break between the inspiration and the mind into which it has come; no space for the self to creep in. The poet must make himself a passive instrument for the expression of the Unconscious.

R. H. Blyth, an authority on the haiku, has described it this way.

> The haiku . . . is a way of returning to nature, to our moon nature, our cherryblossom nature, our falling leaf nature, in short, to our Buddha nature. It is a way in which the cold, winter rain, the swallows of the evening, even the very day in its hotness and the length of the night become truly alive, share in our humanity, speak their own silent and expressive language.[7]

If we were to enter into the spirit of Chanoyu (the tea ceremony), we would find ourselves in a waiting shelter at one end of a garden, for the moments before the tea are purposely designed to allow us to detach ourselves from our worldly cares and immerse ourselves in the peace and tranquility of the surroundings. As we glance at the fragile hut standing in the loneliest part of the garden, these words come to mind,

> I look beyond;
> Flowers are not,
> Nor tinted leaves.
> On the sea beach
> A solitary cottage stands
> In the waning light
> Of an autumn eve.[8]

As the otherworldliness of the garden begins to take hold of our consciousness, the wooden gong sounds. The host comes to greet us and leads us up the mountain path. The hut is thatch-roofed with gray plaster walls, and in order to enter we must climb through a small, square hole. This has the psychological effect of stripping us of that excess baggage which makes up our social identity. All approach the tea with humility, for there is no room in this "abode of emptiness" for social privilege. Some have said that the opening is symbolic of entering the womb; certainly, it is an invitation to enter one's deepest self, to show "the original face before one's father and mother were born." Once inside, we kneel about the charcoal fire. If the tearoom follows the style of Rikyu, it will be constructed of plaster and wood walls with rice-paper windows. There will be a scroll hanging in the tokonoma (alcove) and, perhaps, a single spray of flowers on the dais. There is an impression of poverty, loneliness, and rusticity.

When all the guests are in their places, the host enters, carrying the utensils necessary for the ceremony: a plate with sweets, a tea

bowl, a lacquer tea caddy, and a larger bowl for waste water. Sometimes, the utensils themselves are art objects, and they are displayed before the guests. The tea bowl has been selected with the greatest of care, though its appearance may be rough-textured and primitive. While the host prepares his materials, the guests indulge in casual conversation, and as the kettle begins to boil, a soothing sound issues forth like "the soughing of pines on some faraway hill or the sound of a cataract muffled by clouds."[9]

With everyone's senses engaged, the host takes a deep breath to center himself and the ceremony begins.

> It is a seated dance, an orchestrated ritual, as delicate, paced, and formal as the elevation of the host in a Catholic Mass. All the gestures have been practiced for years, until they fit together in fluid motion."[10]

The bowl is rinsed with hot water in order to assure its freshness, and then wiped with a clean napkin. The host delicately picks up the bamboo scoop and takes the powdered green tea from the inside of the tea caddy, leaving a mound of powder in the center. Placing the green powder in the bowl, he adds hot water with the bamboo dipper. With deft motions, he whisks the mixture into a frothy jade blend. The bowl is offered to the head guest, and then passed ceremoniously from person to person with the last guest taking the final taste. The host, himself, never drinks the beverage. All his energies are reserved for making the best possible tea for his guests.

A second cup of tea is served and when the formal portion of the ceremony is over, the host and guests are free to converse about the art objects or the particular flower arrangement. Perhaps, the calligraphy on the scroll calls to mind a few verses of poetry. Secular and business affairs are abandoned, and there is a wordless pact that only those topics of philosophical and aesthetic interest will be chosen. The Japanese frankly acknowledge that this "abode of emptiness" is a retreat from everyday life, but it is their conviction that all people need periodically to detach themselves from the mundane world, so that they may later return refreshed. The aim is to capture the spirit of the Taoist sages as they wandered through their mountain

pathways.

But, tea is, above all, "a religion of the art of life." As in any religion, first priority is given to the recognition of a fundamental Reality or Ground of Being. The teamen Shuko and Rikyu were strongly influenced by the Buddhist principle of transcendence in immanence, and it is this essence that the teamaster must transmit to his students. He must maintain a delicate balance between the teaching of a rigidly formalized series of gestures and the transmission of the values of the Buddhist way of life. Unlike the Japanese masters of fencing, flower-arranging, and the haiku, he does not confront his students, but instead serves as a model of the composed and concentrated artist. Since little has been written concerning this technique we must depend upon participant-observation for information. The author's experience with her teamaster demonstrated that much is revealed through simile and story telling.

"This moment is all," Mr. Y. would say. "Even if the roof were to cave in, there is no reason to be anxious, because at this point there's nothing you can do about it."

During a time when the learning of the ritualized gestures was particularly frustrating, the teamaster told this story. A samurai stopped at an inn as he journeyed to Edo. The innkeeper asked the name of his lord and when the samurai responded, the innkeeper replied, "Oh, your lord is a great teaman. You must come to my tea, tonight."

The samurai protested that he knew nothing about tea, but the innkeeper thought that he was merely being modest. That night the samurai was head guest and he put forth his best effort, so that his actions would not be a poor reflection on the reputation of his lord.

Afterward, the innkeeper took him aside and said, "That was one of the best teas I ever attended. I can see that you have benefitted from being the servant of such a lord."

The samurai's interest was whetted, and when he went to Edo, he took intensive lessons in tea. On the way home a year later, he again stopped at the inn. The innkeeper was overjoyed to see him, saying, "You must join us for tea, tonight."

This time the samurai was confident. That evening he employed all the skills he had learned during the year, and, once more, the

innkeeper took him aside.

"Yes, you performed your part admirably," he said, "but there was a special quality about your participation last time that was missing tonight."

The teamaster remarked that though students may gain technical proficiency, they sometimes lose the original purity of spirit and the desire to serve the best tea possible.

What lessons can be gleaned from the work of these teachers who have successfully transmitted an artistic tradition over hundreds of years? Perhaps, we are not really so removed in space and time from their fundamental premises. In a recent article, Stephanie Dudek has challenged the view that children are innately creative and that the pressures toward conformity that occur when a child enters school serve to destroy this potential. This misconception has been accepted, she claims, because children are so impulsive and spontaneous in their paintings and drawings. She contrasts these qualities with the adult artist's intense desire to express an inner vision in which the emotions and conscious planning are transcended and the original inspiration transformed, so that a new product emerges. It is her contention that "Discipline, criticism, feedback, and modeling . . . are essential tools for promoting true creativity,"[11] and need not run counter to an environment that fosters openness and expressiveness.

The masters of the arts of Japan were able to accomplish the difficult task of expressing the Buddhist vision in so commonplace a practice as writing a few words of verse or serving "a simple cup of tea." As teachers, they became expert in the process of communicating a highly disciplined art form without losing sight of the fact that creativity, whether religious or secular, must come from within.

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COMMUNITY AND NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS

by

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Roland Warren defines a community as that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance. Community education is that educative process which directs all segments of education programming towards the needs of a community. Community education is a catalyst for mobilizing indigenous resources and leaders for socio-economic betterment.

Community Development is not dissimilar to the concept of community education. In fact, community development involves more than economics. It is directed, as the United Nations states, toward the utilization of the potential of people so that they can recognize and implement available resources for community improvement. The role of the community educator is to provide to the entire community an educative process that is both self-helping and community building. Like the community developer, the community educator takes advantages of the total community's conditions, and attempts to affect the total community in becoming change agents for improved socio-economic conditions. Nonformal education techniques provide the means for community education to become a reality.

In a Third World country, such concepts pose problems that in our society are relatively non-existent. We can marshal many resources to implement an educational facility or system to bring education benefits to all regardless of age or social condition. Through democratic principles, accepted as a customary given, we can accomplish community education without insurmountable obstacles. Despite all these advantages, community education is in its embryo stage in our North American communities. In Central America, especially Honduras, one of the poorest countries of the Western hemisphere, community education is seen as a means to community development. Both education and development in Honduras are, however, in a struggle over establishing a basic conceptual framework for mutual compatibility.

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To understand such a struggle one needs to look at Honduras as it has developed in the last two decades. Thus we can appreciate the difficulties for community education to be born, grow, and hopefully flourish in such a rural developing nation.

The Republic of Honduras, located between Guatemala and Nicaragua, is the most mountainous and least developed of the five Central American Republics. With a population of approximately three million inhabitants and an almost universal language of Spanish, Honduras has a literacy rate that is slightly more than fifty percent (50.7). For decades Honduras relied upon banana production as its source of foreign exchange and economic preservation. The northeastern coastal area accounted for the total production of bananas. San Pedro Sula became an industrial city benefitting from the rail and road connections in this flat agricultural area. The capital, Tegucigalpa, located in the south central part of Honduras saw much of its development through the Pan American Highway which connected this city to the other Central American Republics since the late 1940's. With the completion of a major road from the capital to San Pedro Sula and the subsequent construction of a highway from San Pedro to the Western zone in the early 1970's the country has only recently been able to begin to feel like a connected, integral nation.

For centuries, the mountains of Honduras and the relative inaccessibility of cities and villages with each other produced isolation of entire areas (departments or states) from economic, social, and political development. Delivery of human services, education, and health care are a monumental task that the Government of Honduras through civil and non-governmental agencies has sought to improve. Improving the agricultural economy and diversifying management of untapped material resources, along with increasing small industries, have long been recognized as essential steps for the economic growth of the country.

The tide of migration of the peasant farmers to the urban centers, malnutrition, and illiteracy must be arrested. Honduras' educational system will need to function within such an economic development framework. Community Education in rural areas seems to promise social and economic options by enhancing peasant life and improving economic

options. Primary schools in the hundreds of small villages throughout Honduras are typical "one room school houses." Most lack light, water, and furnishings of basic necessities. Children of mixed ages suffer malnutrition and poverty. School attendance is poor (more than 30% absenteeism). More often than not, the school room is not used for functions other than classes.

Education programs since the early days of the Alliance for Progress and literacy campaigns of the United Nations in the mid 1960's produced sporadic positive results. In the traditional primary school system in the rural areas where more than 70% of the Hondurans lived the three R's often seemed to increase illiteracy by absenteeism, since child farmworkers found such schooling irrelevant to their daily survival. School teachers in isolated areas were themselves also affected. They were limited by the difficult availability of classroom materials and primitive conditions of their schools. Professional development of the teachers through training programs and exchange of ideas and problem solving techniques was equally limited by poor communications and the physical conditions. It was not unusual to find teachers lacking secondary education or who were political appointees.

With widespread isolation, poverty, and malnutrition coupled with, until recently, practical inaccessibility, it was of little wonder that the Honduras educational system lagged behind an equally languishing economy.

During this same period of the 50's and late 60's, however, there were also the beginnings of various alternatives to traditional schools. A rising consciousness of community development demanded innovative and realistic implementation of indigenous resources. Education of those that participated in such community development programs became a growing imperative. Cooperatives as a means and a movement for economic betterment were openly fostered by the Honduras government, the Peace Corps, voluntary organizations, and most strongly, by the Catholic Church in rural areas.

In order for cooperatives to survive and maintain their viability in rural economies, continual education of the membership was essential. Through many cooperatives, villages and cooperative extensionists developed training programs that motivated members to help themselves

and others to read and write home management, nutrition, and better health care.

Non-formal education techniques were widely developed in the spread of cooperatives in rural Honduras at this time. Cooperatives, nevertheless were but one of many means for community development. National agencies visited the more accessible villages fostering projects for development. Such agencies tended to be uncoordinated and short termed. Efforts to reach more remote areas in greater need were often neglected.

The Armed Forces of Honduras was also committed to community development through its program of "Obras Pacificas." Where military bases were located, in rural areas especially, the Honduran Army was often involved in providing assistance for road school, and clinic construction. The military often provided its facilities for learning centers such as seminars, and literacy programs. Military bases are examples of structures that could be and sometimes were used as community education facilities.

The role of the Catholic Church in the development of nontraditional approaches to education is of no small significance during this period. From its close contact with isolated areas through parish priests of Canadian and North American missionaries the Church became more and more actively dedicated to education for development. Since the Encyclical "Progress of Peoples" of Pope Paul VI in 1964, and the pronouncements of CELAM in 1968, the Honduran Catholic Church saw its role as a promoter of social change through education and community development. Much of the success of cooperatives in rural areas was the result of leading support and involvement of the parish priests. The Church, like the military, but on a larger scale, employed its buildings as community learning facilities and not merely catechetic classrooms.

It was not uncommon to find "casa curales," or Churches, being used for "alfabeticacion" (literacy training), cooperative education, agricultural programs, health, and even recreation centers for youths or adults.

The Church by its long tradition of catechetics employed a host of non-formal education techniques to "spread the Gospel." Working in areas without schools or similar facilities, the Church used other

non-formal methods for learning. With increased commitment to a social mission, many innovative educational methods were realized. Radio schools were established with catechists in various villages that had radios with fixed frequencies. Every Sunday villagers would meet at the church to listen to the radio. Broadcasts expanded from religious matters to social and economic problems. Cooperatives, health care, home gardening, and literacy projects now dominate the broadcasts. Mobile churches which were religious services done out of a camper truck expanded their use as instructional vehicles in human services. Courses in a variety of areas were developed for slide-film presentation by simple wooden battery-operated projectors. Cooperative education using huge picture cards and literacy materials were disseminated. Through such programs non-formal education became the means for accomplishing community education in many remote areas.

Besides the aforementioned institutions and organizations, the public schools were, as more and more were built in the 60's, becoming used for more than the three R's; schools too were becoming meeting halls, and centers for cultural and social activities. Adult literacy classes were offered in the evenings and arts and crafts projects were done in some communities with dynamic teachers. Garden projects were encouraged in rural schools to relate farming with nutrition and learning.

The seeds for community education during these two decades were scattered about the cities and countryside.

Evidence of a concerted plan for employing school facilities for the use and betterment of the entire community arose with the concept of "centros de capacitacion", capacitation centers. Prominent among these kinds of centers which often occupied traditional classroom settings, were the so-called rural leadership training centers. These were initiated primarily through Church sponsorship for increasing community development in the predominantly rural milieu of Honduras.

By the late 1960's there were five such centers. On the north coast of Honduras, the Jesuits set up a leadership training center called LaFragua in the town of El Progresso. In San Pedro Sula City, Caritas (Honduras Catholic Relief) had a center for community development programs among the poor urban dwellers. In the southern zone of Honduras, in Choluteca, El Colmena Center dealt with cooperative education and

agricultural improvement for the campesinos (peasant farmers). Olancho was a similar center near the Honduran Capital. In the northwestern departments, a center for community development was established in the city of Ocotepeque by North American Capuchin Franciscans. These five centers seemed to be the beginnings of community education programs with more formalized objectives and curricula that were developed in response to local community needs. Community development became an objective through community participation in understanding problems at the village level. Campesinos began to look at available means and solutions to their socio-economic problems. Freire's process of "concienciacion" (consciousness raising) was employed in various degrees at the different Rural Training centers. The centers sought to educate leaders to return to their native villages to organize for community action, and stimulate self-help community development programs.

Although in the main, these centers were for training of indigenous leaders, the centers often conducted programs that affected the lives of all in the community. Youth programs, mothers clubs, health and nutrition sessions along with adult learning courses were provided. It is in these areas that the centers approached the concept and reality of community education. However, after 1969, events in Honduras were to change the trends toward community education of previous decades.

El Salvador invaded Honduras in July of 1969. The vulnerability of Honduras to outside aggression on its western frontier alarmed the entire nation. With the cessation of hostilities after five days of bitter struggle, Honduras gained a new pride in its national identity. Although the aftermath of such an attempted invasion hastened the break-up of the Central American Common Market, Honduras and its institutions saw the need for more concerted action in fostering national development. The Ministry of Education took steps to expand schooling in rural areas. A national development plan was drawn up specifically to foster community development along the entire western zone of Honduras. Government agencies initiated more intense programs to help the campesinos improve their own socio-economic conditions. More secondary roads were built and communication systems enhanced. Military defense was strengthened with the establishment of new military bases, which in turn increased the "obras pacificas" of the army.

Renewed interest of the national government in rural development brought greater involvement of national and international agencies in many rural sectors. "Pilot Schools" were initiated in more than a dozen rural areas. These schools experimented with non-traditional and non-formal teaching methods not unlike Montessori techniques. The emphasis shifted from rigid schooling in memorization, to more informal programs that motivated enthusiasm for rural children to better their agricultural employment productivity and stimulate community improvement through social responsibility.

The rural leadership training centers became more specialized and, indeed, in at least two centers became embroiled in political events that led to tragic results.

Education of the community, and community education has political ramifications in any locale. In Honduras, where organizational structures and resources are limited, private and public sectors of education can readily develop adversary conditions. National community education schemes must take into account local community needs and expectations. Local community education systems cannot on the other hand, ignore the community development objectives for the good of the entire nation.

Until the balance between local and national needs are put in perspective, the concept of community education will not be readily accepted. Implementation of community education in Honduras will, it appears at this writing, continue in isolated areas with limited success. Hopefully, whether through private or public implementation of community education in specific areas, the national government will develop from such success stories the means to duplicate community education systems in ever increasing numbers. Non-formal education methods will be the key for community education and development success. Honduras needs a success story in community education. Perhaps this is now occuring. There are some centers in villages that are involving the entire community in community education. Training of women, youth, farmers, and elders in taking hold of their own destinies for a better Honduras is the challenge of community education.

The recent experiences of education in rural Honduras, despite all their vicissitudes, seem to be ineffably moving towards community

education. Community education in Honduras and similar Third World areas has not yet been realized. But the time has come for educational institutions in such areas to seize the opportunity. Failure to do so may well estrange community from education--the consequences of which are only too well known.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION THROUGH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS: THE CASE OF CHILE

by

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Introduction

This paper is essentially a case study of multipurpose, voluntary community organizations in Chile in which nonformal education methods and techniques were employed. The case study presents an example of nonformal education operating in practice, but does not cover events after 1970.

After examining the case study, some observations will be made and some general conclusions will be drawn about the use of nonformal education in voluntary community organizations and the role of such organizations as educational vehicles.

Characteristics of Urban Voluntary Community Organizations in Chile

Community organizations in Chile were classified into two types--territorial and functional. Territorial organizations represented all the citizens within a given area and were involved in a wide range of activities dealing with the most vital necessities of the people. They were called Juntas de Vecinos (Groups of Neighbors). Functional groups focussed on specific issues or populations.

For the purposes of this paper, the functional organizations emphasized are Centros de Madres and Centros Juveniles (Mother and Youth Groups).

Development of Urban Community Organizations

Juntas de Vecinos and Centro de Madres initially were formed spontaneously by the Chilean pobladores. While the first Junta de Vecinos was organized in 1901, the urban community organizations did not begin to proliferate until the late 1950's and early 1960's. Before the 1964 Presidential election and during the first years of the Frei administration, their members increased dramatically. The best estimates were that 20,000 community groups existed in all of Chile including 4,000 Juntas de Vecinos and 6,000 Centros de Madres. The number of youth groups was considerably smaller. By the late 1960's most Chilean cities possessed at least one or two Juntas de Vecinos and usually a few more Centros de Madres.[1]

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The number of members in community organizations varied from as high as 600 for a Junta de Vecinos to as low as 10 for a Centro de Madres. In the majority of Juntas de Vecinos the membership fell below 100 with many claiming only 50 to 60 members. The Centros de Madres were significantly smaller than the Juntas de Vecinos, averaging between 25 and 30 members. Still, total nominal membership in territorial and functional organizations was approximately 900,000 or 1/10th of the Chilean population.

The number of actual participants, however, rarely exceeded 40% of these nominal membership figures. In the Centros de Madres the rate of participation by members was higher than in the Juntas de Vecinos. Roughly estimated about 16 to 18% of those eligible in various poblaciones belonged to a Centro de Madres compared to 10 to 13% for the Junta de Vecinos. Although community organizations functioned in all parts of Chile, coverage--while substantial--was not uniform nor complete.

Characteristics of the Members of the Community Organizations

Although anyone over 18 could join a Junta de Vecinos, the membership was composed largely of married men between 25 and 55 years ole. The membership of the Centros de Madres, while totally female, did include women who were not mothers and who were not married. The majority, though, were mothers without paid occupations outside the home, i.e., housewives.

Teenagers and young adults did not participate in substantial numbers in the Juntas de Vecinos or Centros de Madres. For them involvment in a local voluntary organization generally depended upon belonging to a youth group, but few Centros Juveniles functioned fully.

Members of a Junta de Vecinos tended to be those individuals with an active disposition toward problems. They felt the neighborhood problems could be solved and that they could do something about them. Greater participation was found among people who had a service orientation as opposed to a more hedonsitic attitude about their leisure time, and among those who had a positive attitude about engaging in social activity.

In marginal poblaciones, variations in the level of formal education, income, and type of occupation did not determine the amount of participation in a Junta de Vecinos.[2] This finding was particularly surprising with respect to education. The hypothesis that as one's education level

increased, one would become more aware of society, would feel more competent and capable and would be in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the community groups could not be demonstrated.

In fact, in certain types of settlements if any relationship could be ascertained, it was that as education increased, participation in community groups decreased. In obtaining additional education as a means of gaining status and of escaping from their situation of marginality, such individuals seemed to reject their former companions and ceased to participate in their community organizations. They appeared not to want to be identified as a member of a Junta de Vecinos which was perceived as being composed of, created for, and operating for the benefit of predominantly lower class people.

Very few Juntas were formed in upper class areas. The rich did not lack access, representation nor basic necessities such as water, roads, or electricity.

Juntas de Vecinos did have some middle class members. Juntas that were predominately middle class were more likely to form in established residential areas and in new housing projects where groups such as a union, employees of a plant or armed forces members had united and obtained housing together. Although active middle class Juntas did exist, the bulk of the Juntas could be classified as lower class.

Not all of the lower class, however, participated. Those on the very bottom were too poor, too unsettled and too concerned with struggling to stay alive to participate.

The lower class Chileans who belonged to a Junta were those who used the Junta to solve their problems, improve their lives and provide the needed community infrastructure. People whose houses were in unacceptable condition and lacked electricity participated more than those whose houses were adequate and had electricity. As one's house and socio-economic situation improved, participation in the Junta tended to slacken.

In the Centros de Madres, the preponderance of the members were of lower class origin. A higher level of education corresponded to a lower level of participation. While some upper class Centros de Madres did exist, their purposes and activities differed greatly from those of the majority. The prevalent practice for an upper class woman interested in

women's groups was for her to act as an advisor to a "popular" Centro de Madres rather than to form or join an organization in her neighborhood.

Goals, Objectives and Activities of Community Organizations

Juntas de Vecinos

The primary goal of most Juntas de Vecinos was the improvement of the physical living standards within their territory. Juntas represented the interests of the pobladores before the authorities and promoted the internal development and integration of their community, but primarily focussed on resolving infrastructure deficiencies.

The actual needs varied according to the type of settlement. Objectives included obtaining housing, electricity, and water, receiving legal title for their land, improving public services such as fire, police and transportation, cleaning up of unhealthy, dangerous, and improper conditions such as the illegal sale of alcohol, and improving of the cultural life of the neighborhood through the promotion of functional organizations such as theater and singing groups. Juntas sought community centers, sport fields, health centers, mailboxes, telephones, bus stops, parks, playgrounds, and trees. Only rarely did Juntas de Vecinos request educational programs or industrial training schools. They did seek, however, information about organizing the people, working together, and forming strong community organizations

Activities Engaged in by Juntas de Vecinos

Meetings - Meetings of the Juntas were open to everyone and functioned as an educational and communications vehicle. The elected Board of Directors reported on the projects and activities undertaken by the Junta. Often public officials were invited to discuss a particular issue or to explain a program. During the meeting, the Junta members expressed their opinions to the authorities and to their directors.

Elections - Elections for the Board of Directors were held annually. Even the most inactive Juntas at least attempted to hold elections. Some had nominations, secret paper ballots and contested elections. In others, if a person was willing to serve, he or she was proclaimed elected without a formal vote.

Social Activities - The Junta acted as an extended family. When a

member died, funds were raised and condolences expressed personally and publicly. The Juntas's meetings allowed those attending to interact and talk with their neighbors, and became social events in themselves. Juntas also organized picnics, excursions, parties, and variety shows where dancing and singing groups performed. For some shows admission was charged to raise money for Junta activities and expenses.

Fund Raising - Fund raising was a major preoccupation of the Juntas. Since payment of dues by members was irregular and in any case did not raise sufficient revenues, Juntas employed a variety of fund raising techniques such as dances and raffles.

Self Help Projects - The most common use of Junta funds was to make a contribution or partial payment for materials or services needed for its projects. Often equipment would be loaned to the Junta and its members would provide the labor for community improvement projects such as building community centers and playgrounds, clearing land for roads and sport fields or digging trenches for water and sewer systems. In short, a major activity of the Juntas was the mobilization of the pobladores for cooperative work on self-help projects.

Lobbying - Juntas also acted as a lobbying agent for their members and neighborhoods. They made the government aware of the needs and desires of the people and pressed for resolution of problems. Letters were written to local and national officials and to the press. In some instances, Juntas resorted to drastic measures such as land invasions.

Centros de Madres

The objectives, goals and activities of Centros de Madres were more limited than those of the Juntas de Vecinos. In Centros de Madres, women with common interests joined together to mutually aid each other and their families and to improve and elevate the cultural, social and spiritual level of the membership and, therefore, of the community. These goals were pursued through a program of education and skills acquisition and by increased companionship and social interaction among the members.

One function of the Centros de Madres was to get the woman out of the house so that she could meet other women with similar interests and problems, discuss these issues, exchange information, make friends and learn. Centros de Madres also sought to earn money. To best fulfill these objectives they needed a meeting place, and tools and equipment

such as weaving and sewing machines. Other than these items, the Centros de Madres left the pursuit of material goods and improvements to the Juntas de Vecinos.

Activities Engaged in by the Centros de Madres

The most prevalent activity of the Centros de Madres was their weekly meeting. These meetings functioned more as social gatherings with the business relegated to a position of secondary importance. Having tea or "onces" formed the core of these gatherings. The women drank tea, ate pastries, chatted, sewed and knitted. They contributed to the cost of the once. Monthly dues payments were requested and made. Depending on the Centro de Madres and the leadership, minutes might have been read, but generally the formal aspects of a meeting were dispensed with and an informal atmosphere prevailed.

Once a year, like the Juntas de Vecinos, the Centros de Madres held elections which usually followed the Junta de Vecinos pattern.

A unique characteristic of the Centros de Madres was the participation of an asesora or advisor. The asesora was a woman who generally was better educated and wealthier than the members. Upper class women advised and sponsored Centros de Madres as a type of social service work or noblesse oblige. Asesoras aided and assisted the Centros de Madres in their internal matters and in their dealings with the outside world. Not all asesoras were volunteers. The same term applied to paid professional promoters. In sum, the kind of women, the role played, and the degree of paternalism varied greatly. Some Centros de Madres were very dependent upon their asesora while many others functioned quite well without one.

A major purpose of the Centros de Madres was the education and training of its members. The asesoras and outside promoters gave lectures and answered questions about the Juntas de Vecinos Law, the procedures to obtain credit, cooperativism, the family, home economics, child care, nutrition, health, birth control, marital relations, adolescence, friendship, etc. In training courses given by the Consejeria Nacional de Promoción Popular (CNPP) and other public and private institutions, the Centros de Madres members learned hairdressing, embroidery, sewing, weaving, toy making, dressmaking, interior decorating and other skills. The 20 to 30 participants in the courses met once a

week for up to five months. Pamphlets and booklets covering all topics were distributed to further aid the learning process.

Another activity of the Centros de Madres was fund raising. Some money was collected via monthly dues and once contributions, but the bulk of their income came as a result of their augmented education and acquired skills. A few Centros de Madres formed production cooperatives. In one case, a sewing machine instructor taught 25 pupils how to make rope soled sandals. The women formed a cooperative to make the sandals and soon were earning $13 a month. The cooperative grew and prospered, providing additional income for the members' families.

Most Centros de Madres raised money by selling goods they had made. A few Centros de Madres or as many as 20 would hold a fair or exhibition of their products. They sold toys, clothes, ornaments for the home, aprons, pot holders, pots and other small craft objects. They often bought from each other. After paying the Centro de Madres a small fee and reimbursement for the cost of the materials, the member kept the remaining income from the sale of her product. Some Centros de Madres made empanadas or other food which they sold regularly. Like the Juntas de Vecinos, Centros de Madres also sponsored raffles and dances to raise money.

The Centros de Madres used their money in a variety of ways. They held anniversary parties and picnics. They helped members who faced some difficulty. They paid for medicine for a sick member who could not afford it. They paid essential transportation costs. They donated toys to children. Much of their money was expended to pay for onces and to buy more materials from which to make their products. They bought sewing machines and chairs and other equipment for their meeting place. Some Centros de Madres bought the necessary materials and built their community centers themselves. A few formed consumption cooperatives in which they pooled their resources to buy food and goods at better prices.

Youth Organizations

In general, the objectives of the Youth Organizations were to bring young people of both sexes together to form friendships and camaraderie, and to contribute to the self improvement of the members through education. Furthermore, through social service activities they sought to enhance the artistic, cultural and recreational life of the community while increasing

the participation of young people in the community. To accomplish these goals, among the most pressing needs of Youth Clubs were a place to meet and hold events, and equipment, especially recreational equipment, necessary for their activities.

As for their activities, they held meetings and elections more irregularly than the Juntas de Vecinos and Centros de Madres. At their meetings, they listened to lectures about adolescence, organization of youth groups, the Junta de Vecinos Law, birth control, love and other concerns of young people. Like the Centros de Madres, they desired to learn and requested courses such as guitar playing and hairdressing.

In their meetings, much of the time was spent planning events and activities. Although they had dues, they needed more money. Besides raising money, the purpose of the Youth Club's events was to increase interest in and awareness of the group, and to entertain the community.

Youth groups held raffles and onces. They sponsored dances and made refreshments. They showed movies. They formed folksinging groups and produced variety shows with singing, skits and poetry reading. Games and sports competitions were organized.

The money raised was used for excursions, operating expenses, sending cards of condolence, purchasing equipment, and future events. As part of their social service work, the Centros Juveniles delivered books and magazines during their visits to the hospitals, jails and elderly homes. In auto-construction settlements, the collaborated with other groups to help build houses for those unable to assemble them themselves.

The Youth Clubs did have limited contact with other Centros Juveniles and with the government. They asked for ping pong tables and projectors to show their movies. On weightier matters, however, young peoples' organizations, like the Centros de Madres, associated themselves with the efforts of the Juntas de Vecinos, rather than lobbying on their own.

Nonformal Education Characteristics of Community Organizations Activities

The activities of the community organizations, and particularly those of the Centros de Madres and Centros Juveniles, exhibited characteristics of nonformal education as defined by David Kline. The audience included people of all ages. The objective was to meet immediate learning needs. Junta leaders wanted to learn how to organize and run a meeting. The

treasurers needed to know how to manage money and balance the books. The Centros de Madres learned about birth control and nutrition.

The learning was skill oriented and provided specific knowledge. Junta members learned how to build houses and sewer lines and how to make decisions. The women in the Centros de Madres learned how to sew and make clothes. Young people were taught hairdressing and how to play the guitar. They acquired functional skills that could be applied in everyday life and work. The courses on interior decorating, toy making, and cooperatives assumed a differential productivity and implicitly a wage differential.

The courses were usually only one cycle and met once or twice a week for about one to two months. The education gained in the neighborhood organizations was obviously part-time and recurrent, separated by other experiences.

The content of the curriculum was related to the learning needs of the specific audience. Men learned construction skills, women learned about homemaking, and youth learned about adolescence and family life. While the content was task or skill oriented, attitudinal and behavior changes were included too. Discussions on friendship, cooperation, participation and consciousness raising were conducted. Pamphlets were distributed on the "Family and the Community" and on the need for social organization. Much of the learning, particularly that of construction, was closely related to the environmental and social actions of the Juntas. The members were learning by doing.

As for the delivery system, the skills acquisition occurred in a variety of settings including schools, homes, community centers and out doors. It was loosely structured and flexible regarding time and place. The learning generally was accomplished with a minimum capital outlay and cost. Most trainers worked part-time and were not specially trained in nonformal education.

Finally, in accord with Kline's definitions, completion of the activity rather than evaluation and performance was paramount to matriculation. Certificates were given to everyone who attended the courses.

The education obtained through the community organizations was not entirely nonformal. Elements and characteristics of formal education

as defined by Kline were present. The content was often standardized and produced by government agencies in the capitol. Full-time, specially trained personnel did participate and most of the course offerings were publically financed or subsidized. While the lecture or "banking" format was used extensively, theater, radio, movies, television, and informal discussions over tea and coffee were also utilized. Thus, the learning experiences in the community organizations in Chile contained elements of both formal and nonformal education, but were, in essence, predominately nonformal in nature.

Consejeria Nacional de Promoción Popular

The Consejeria Nacional de Promoción Popular (CNPP) was formed by the Christian Democrat government in 1964. It was the government agency responsible for the promotion and training of the community organizations. It developed and administered training courses and educational programs for members of neighborhood groups but with a special emphasis on the leaders.

As part of its educational and technical assistance efforts, CNPP produced posters, pamphlets, and other literature which it distributed to the community groups.

In addition to seminars and workshops, other educational techniques such as audio-visual aids and psycho-drama role playing were employed. Supplementing the verbal and visual instruction, most technical education included actual demonstrations and opportunities to practice the new skills.

Between 1965 and 1968, 610,466 persons received some training. Of the 197,270 people who received instruction in 1966, 120,229 attended charlas (informal addresses), while 77,041 attended courses or seminars. Of the 77,041, 40,369 or 52.4% participated in technical courses and 36,672 or 47.6% received organizational training.

Due to limited funds, CNPP could not service all the requests for training programs. In 1966 CNPP employees conducted 74% of the courses offered, private institutions 18% and other government agencies 8%.

CNPP had an Art and Culture Section which promoted and facilitated the artistic and cultural activities of the community, emphasizing folklore, theater, choirs and crafts. This section provided technical and artistic training to popular groups. From 1965 to 1958, 395 courses

with 6,987 participants were given. One pamphlet utilized described how to build stage sets and scenery.

In all, a total of 81 different pamphlets were published by CNPP and 3,607,530 copies distributed between 1965 and 1968. Over 2,358,000 copies of 60 different items such as posters, instruction sheets and forms were produced between 1965 and 1968.

CNPP used audio-visual trucks to show movies and slide shows it had prepared on social organization, Centros de Madres, learning to read and write, theater, and other topics. Twenty-minute radio programs with information for the neighborhood groups were broadcast Monday through Saturday.

A series of television shows were produced. One series for women entitled, "Esta Mujer Eres Tu" (This woman is you) consisted of 24 programs of 35 minutes each. A series for young people, "Teleclub Juvenil" had 18 programs. The programs were viewed in groups with specially trained staff to lead discussion afterward. In 1968, between 100 and 150 teleclubs were organized and approximately 8,350 teleclub viewers and 85,000 members of the general public watched the programs.

Concluding Observations

When the Christian Democratic government in Chile supported and promoted the formation and development of community organizations, education was not among its primary goals. The Christian Democrats were seeking numerous objectives which were mainly political and ideological. The education and skills acquisition, however, that resulted from the activities of CNPP and the community organizations were welcomed spin-offs. In fact, education became a major component of the activities and successes of the community groups.

This statement is especially true if social and civic education are considered as part of the benefits of participating in community organizations. The members of the Juntas de Vecinos and Centros de Madres learned about their country and its government, about elections by running them and participating in them, and about other people and groups by working with them. They learned how to make decisions, to speak and debate, to write letters to their representatives, to take minutes and keep records, to manage and account for money, to work

together for the improvement of their community and to help themselves.

Much of what members learned through participation in the community groups was learned from other members and from other local organizations. Because the community organizations in Chile were not viewed primarily as educational organizations, the use of nonformal education theory, techniques, and practices were especially appropriate and necessary.

In short, nonformal education and functioning community groups are important factors in development and can be mutually supportive and interrelated. Voluntary organizations in Chile contributed to a better life for all by building a sense of community and pride in the neighborhood, by reducing isolation, and by providing information, services and other vital neighborhood improvements which otherwise would have been unavailable. They acted as an adjustment and integration mechanism and performed other essential societal functions.

The educational activities were valuable too. The courses and training offered in Chile by CNPP created a better skilled work force, some jobs, and greater opportunities for employment and increased income. Also through education, the citizens gained confidence that they could accomplish objectives and were important. Also, they became more aware and involved. They could participate more actively and vote in a more informed manner. As Joan Nelson observed, a consistent relationship is evident in many studies between the level of education and degree of interest, sense of efficacy, and extent of actual participation in political and public affairs.

The existing community organizations became a source of educational opportunity through the use of nonformal education methods. The educational possibilities available through the community groups provided a needed incentive for people to join and participate in the organizations. The education received in the community groups through movies, TV, illustrated pamphlets and comic books, small group workshops, theater, elections, meetings and social events was more interesting, exciting, and accessible than regular classroom lectures and books. Such stimulating and entertaining programs enticed people to participate and improved the status and reputation of the neighborhood organizations. Increased and more active participation and membership strengthened the voluntary groups, and stronger, more viable organizations in turn benefited the members

and the country even more.

The marriage of existing community organizations and nonformal education created many positive advantages and yes, some negative ones as well. For example, on the positive side, while the effects and impact of nonformal education activities in the community groups were harder to evaluate than concrete development projects such as building a dam or a road which, when completed, provide hard evidence of success, results were easier to identify than the long-term intangible benefits of formal education. Immediate indicators of success were available. Courses were completed. Goods were sewn or weaved and sold, producing added income; water and sewer systems were installed, legal recognition obtained, and participation in elections increased. While additional factors and influences could be cited, space contraints require closing now.

To summarize, community organizations and education, and specifically nonformal education complement each other and, integrated together, become greater and more successful than the sum of both operating independently.

Notes and References

[1] An interesting question to discuss is why such Community Organizations formed in Chile, but to cite all the probable factors, influences and reasons would require more pages than are allowed for this entire paper.

[2] The nature and characteristics of a Junta and its members and their degree of participation was determined primarily by the type of settlement, specifically its method of formation, the type of housing, the degree of permanence, and the geographical location.

REFLECTIONS ON INDIGENOUS EDUCATION IN GHANA

by

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Introduction

Africa is heir to a plural heritage of education. The roots of the present western education systems could be traced from the continent's mid-fifteenth century contact with western European nations such as Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and Portugal. Coupled with the European educational heritage is the indigenous education system which existed long before European contact. Until recently, Africa's system of indigenous education has been a subject of controversy and has sometimes been very much debased because it was regarded as "informal," "unstructured" and "unscientific." The topic was, therefore, given only a cursory treatment in books on education in Africa and in anthropological monographs dealing with education and development. The sequel to this state of affairs was that it led to the lack of any systematic or even "scientific" study of the indigenous system and its various manifestations within an ethnic group or in the community.

In recent years, however, the concept and role of indigenous education is gradually changing. Indigenous education is being given a respectable image and being encouraged to enter into collaborative working relationships with its modern western counterpart in the field of education for rural development. Indigenous education has not been completely sacrificed for modern western education. Those aspects of this form of education which have been retained have essentially been directed at preserving aspects of ethnic beliefs, values and practices which are functional and needed for enhancing a meaningful life-style and for the continuity of the village life.

This paper, therefore, seeks to understand more of the nature of indigenous education by relating it to the concept of rural development. More specifically, it will focus on the extent to which it could be integrated into local or community development. The paper will also

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examine avenues through which indigenous education could complement the formal western education to achieve broader goals which transcend beyond the tribal or parochial considerations.

The Concept of Indigenous Education

The term "indigenous education" has appeared under different rubrics such as primitive education, traditional education, native education, tribal education, bush schooling, and until recently, non-formal education. The term seems to defy a precise conceptual definition evidenced by a lack of generally accepted terminology. However, the advent of Coombs' definition of his terminology "non-formal education," has shed some light on its contemporary definition. (Coombs, 1968) Indigenous education itself has been defined by Busia as the informal process through which the African societies passed on to the young its accumulated knowledge (and skills) to enable them to play adult roles and to ensure the survival of their offspring. (Busia, 1964, p. 13)

The literature indicates that the use of the medium of indigenous educational approach could facilitate some measurable and visible degree of progress that could aid the overall rural development process. The record of utilizing and training local villagers as facilitators, even with minimum formal schooling, has been positive in village level development and in improving the quality of life in the community. The Center for International Education of The University of Massachusetts has a detailed report on its experiments in collaborative program development in Ghana (Kinsey and Bing, 1978), and Non-formal Education in Equador (1975). This paper will not attempt to explicate the content of the report on the other aspects of non-formal education and development in Ghana.

The Functions of Indigenous Education

Before the advent of the European merchants and missionaries, whose diverse efforts established the predecessors of our contemporary elementary, secondary schools and higher institutions, indigenous institutions, parents and members of the older generation within the community provided various forms of indigenous education for the

younger generation.

In Ghana, as in other African societies, indigenous education had a multi-purpose function. Its primary function was to prepare the younger generation for their future responsibilities as adults in their homes, tribe, clan and village. Boys and girls were almost invariably required to undergo coming of age ceremonies or the rites of passage. Indigenous education was the means through which the community passed on to the youth its accumulated knowledge to enable them not only to function as responsible adults but also to ensure the continuity of the culture and the survival of their offspring. (Busia, 1964, pp. 13-14) Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, underscores Busia's definition by stating that: "What is most impressive about the Kikuyu method of learning is that the knowledge thus acquired is related to a practical need and, therefore, knowledge is merged into activity and can be recalled when the activity is again required." (Kenyatta, p. 119)

Specifically, the older generation passed on to the young the knowledge, the skills, the mode of behavior and the beliefs they have for performing their familial and societal functions. The young are taught how to cope with their environment, how to farm, hunt, fish, prepare meals, build a house and the roles and responsibilities of fatherhood and motherhood. They were also taught the language, manners and the cultures of the community.

The methods were largely informal and the atmosphere unstructured; the young learnt by listening, watching, participating and imitating the activities alongside their elders. Songs and folk tales with morals were equally important aspects of the media through which the history, folklore and morality of the ethnic group were passed on to the younger generation.

In addition to these forms of education, there were other forms of education which prepared the young to acquire specific vocational skills. This system was under the charge of specialized functionaries such as master hunters, master drummers, and master herbalists. Some younger members of the society who desire to make a career out of a chosen vocation will undergo a period of apprenticeship or training under the careful tutelage of a master hunter, drummer, herbalist or fetish-priest.

Although some of the activities and subject matter in the indigenous forms of education in Ghana might be questioned by modern educators, it has many strengths and those of us who have benefited from some form of indigenous education and modern western education are in a position to urge educators to consider the system with sympathetic appreciation and judge it only in terms of whether it has succeeded in preparing the youth to be functioning members of the society in which they live.

The Need for Indigenous Education: Background

In the current decade, development planners are concentrating their efforts on reformulating the goals and strategies of development. The experiences of the 1950's and 1960's, characterized by urban modernization based on GNP growth and industrial development, have essentially brought little benefits to the poor segments of many developing societies, especially those in Africa.

In Ghana, the results have been that the large rural population continue to live a marginal existence and face such deprivations as malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, unemployment and income inequality. For the most part, a high and rising GNP has created imbalances in developments whereby urban populations benefit and receive a disproportionately large share of national income, thereby creating economic and social inequities.

Increasing skepticism of the validity of development goals being based on urban-oriented modernization has led to a reconstruction of the development concept. The current focus is on a new set of development imperatives aimed at raising not only the standard of living but also the quality of life of the poor segment of society. In essence, it is an approach which emphasizes the "humanistic" rather than the "technical" dimensions of development. (Djiwandono, p. 3)

Although education in Ghana is fee-free and has been compulsory since 1961, the government has not been able to provide enough facilities at all three levels, in order to make education accessible to all people who are ready to go to school. This factor, coupled with the fact that over 60 per cent of the Ghanaian population of 10 million

live in rural areas and form a larger proportion of the non-literate segment of the population, should provide a good basis for further experimentation in rural development. Until recently, the segment of the population which were in school or had finished had only received an academically-oriented education which alienated them from their rural environment. Most graduates gravitated towards the urban centers for "white collar" jobs which were non-existent.

The vast numbers of uneducated and miseducated youth and older people in the rural areas of Ghana and many other developing societies will constitute a major challenge to development for several decades to come. Undoubtedly, universal primary education in Ghana is being pursued vigorously. There is, however, a long way to go before the goal is reached, as the numbers of miseducated primary school leavers and a disturbing proportion of primary school drop-outs swell the numbers of the rural and urban unemployed. Most of these people will remain in the labor force in the year 2000 as unskilled, illiterate subsistence farmers or as equally unskilled semi-employed urban dwellers, unless major efforts are made to provide non-formal training opportunities. (World Bank, 1972, p. 27) In the light of the above reasons, it is imperative that Ghana should find alternatives to formal primary education and this will include suitable forms of functional literacy programs and forms of indigenous education or non-formal education.

Indigenous Education and Nation Building

As already mentioned in the early parts of this paper, the primary goal of indigenous education was for the young to be educated in and for the community's way of life. It was the requirement of their roles in adult life and the usefulness of the training to themselves and the community that formed the basis of indigenous Ghanaian education. The child or children of farmers, hunters, fishermen, weavers or herbalists were taught all the skills and knowledge related to the father's specific trade or vocation. There was also the apprenticeship system in which children went to stay with craftsmen who taught them the skills or vocations in exchange for their services. At the end of the training period, a child was initiated into the field of endeavor for which he had been prepared.

The sort of person the youth became depended on how they fulfilled thier roles in society. So they were taught the standards of conduct within the community. They were taught to respect authority and age, interpersonal relationships among peers and adults, the solidarity of the community and its acceptable norms of behavior. Their education also stressed the supremacy of the community spirit as opposed to individualism. It will be seen from the foregoing that indigenous education had different priorities, approaches and characteristics. A key characteristic of indigenous education was its responsiveness to perceived needs of the tribe and community. Its pre-eminent function was the transmission of an essentially common ethnic or community culture and the maintenance of social cohesion. This type of education therefore performed a homogenizing and conservative function. (Foster, p.33)

African indigenous education should constitute an important dimension in the role of education for development. Particularly, Ghana's colonial experience makes it necessary for her educators to re-evaluate their traditional values of education and to assimilate relevant portions of their borrowings from the western world to suit local needs and available resources. Like other African countries, Ghana's developmental effort in the rural areas rests on its leaders' ability to synthesize its divergent inheritance, colonial and otherwise. In this process, educators and rural developers should be conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of the indigenous education systems and should not indiscriminately revive all elements of traditional culture but exercise caution and, by judicious selection, integrate only features or aspects of the variegated cultural elements which constitute our indigenous education, with the contemporary western system.

With the foregoing in mind, the following elements of two Ghanaian indigenous education systems are offered as examples which deserve to be given more thought and consideration.

The Training of Traditional Healers: Herbalists and/or Fetish-priests

Like other societies, Ghanaians divided the world into the realms of the sacred and secular. In the traditional society of Ghana, sacred

questions are considered different from secular ones. The sacred world is symbolized by many objects and some forms of activity. Some forms of disease which afflict the people of the traditional society are believed to be the work of the angry spirits of the sacred world. Hence a herbalist or fetish-priest is called upon to intercede on behalf of the spirit, and also to cure the victim after they have properly propitiated the spirit. There are many restrictions and prohibitions surrounding secular activities or objects. The custodian of the sacred objects and activities is the fetish-priest, who might also be a herbalist. His special qualifications may include unusual appearance, elderly or highly trained and, in the eyes of the deity or 'spirit,' capable of handling sacred matters because he/she exhibits some other extraordinary traits, such as possessing superhuman powers.

Regardless of the background, the potential fetish-priest-herbalist has to undergo some form of training after he or she has, first and foremost, exhibited the initial physical manifestations which may be in the form of a prolonged illness, a sudden spell of mental illness and other eccentric behavior which may defy modern medical explanation and therapeutic practices. These conditions are often characterized by intermittent fits, seizures and convulsions and may persist for as long as six to twelve months. The manifestations are generally regarded as "indicators" of the "calling" to become a fetish priest. The first phase of the candidate's education to become a sub-priest is devoted to curing the candidate of the malaise or malady he may have experienced.

A herbalist, on the other hand, may experience any of the wide range of revelations that show that he or she qualifies to be inducted into this vocation. The simplest experience is a dream; even the discovery of a curiously shaped rock or tree may be sufficient. Whatever the means, the herbalist must depend on other abilities to demonstrate his power through such acts as speaking in tongues. Unlike his southeast Asian counterpart, the shaman, the potential Ghanaian herbalist must not resort to such activities like picking up red-hot firewood or rocks, or plunging his or her hand into a boiling water.

The professional education of the potential herbalist or fetish-priest begins after his or her candidacy has been confirmed by the local community of herbalists or fetish-priests. The candidate is

admitted into the master's household and remains there till his or her graduation. The education is an informal process which primarily consists of understudying the master, and some of his experienced attendants. The latter usually help the trainee in identifying some of the herbs or roots which might have some medicinal values. The fetish-priests have a rather elaborate educational program. The core of their education consists of learning the knowledge about the "Supreme Being" and the "Deities," and acquiring the skills of ritual dancing and singing. Occasionally the master may teach the novice some healing procedures and the medicinal value of specific herbs. As part of their education, both the herbalist and the fetish-priest-in-training are required to conform to all the conventions, ritual regulations and taboos and also to participate in all ceremonies and rituals that have been stipulated by tradition.

Primarily, herbalists are engaged in curing the sick, but when he or she is a fetish-priest, his talents are sought in almost any crisis situation. He will aid in childbirth and at rites of transition into adulthood. His skills are also useful at death, in times of storm or drought. Fetish-priests, like some herbalists, have to deal with the 'spirit' world. They also act as intermediaries between the deity they serve and followers of that deity; they are also the major exponents of the cultic traditions of such deities. It should be said, however, that while the herbalist is primarily concerned with curing ailments of his or her clients, the fetish-priest-herbalist's major role in the society is to perform the responsibility of a medico-religious functionary. (Brookman-Amissah, p. 3)

Dipo Customary Rites

'Dipo' custom, as practiced by the Krobos, or the 'Nhyehyee' of the coastal Fantis and other forms of adult socialization rites and ceremonies are intended to help the youth make a smooth transition into the local adult community. The ritual itself marks the climax of an indigenous education system based upon folklore, mythology and parental example. Local norms and values are discussed and reviewed with the child from the time that she was able to reason. (Scanlon, 1964, pp. 13-14) For the majority of the Krobo or Akan children the

coming of age ceremony was the epidemy of the indigenous educational process and the most impressive part. The 'rites' almost always signified a 'rebirth' and the rituals were always characterized with pomp and ceremony, which served to impress upon the participant the importance of the occasion. The ceremony represented a fusion of adulthood and full-fledged membership of the integrated society or the tribe. The indigenous education for total integration into the society and for the acquisition of skills in order to practice a chosen vocation had unique functions and were oriented to local or village needs. The learning process was non-formal, real, experience-based and task-oriented in order to meet basic survival needs of the locality.

The shortcomings of formal academic education in relation to national developmental needs have been well documented. (Foster 1964, Beeby 1966 and George 1974) In light of the contemporary needs and aspirations vis-a-vis problems of modernization and educational development, it is imperative that Ghana utilizes all the resources at her disposal in order to pursue the goal of socio-economic progress with a reasonable hope of success. One such resource is the indigenous system of education. The two examples cited lend themselves to serious consideration if we are to adopt some of our systems to supplement others in the process of searching for viable tools for socio-economic improvement that could yield positive results in the rural areas. The systems, in their present form, need to be modified in several ways if they are to achieve long-range national developmental objectives. For instance, one major reform that the systems ought to be subjected to is the restructuring of their objectives in order to transfer the allegiance of youth undergoing socialization rites from the ethnic group, the secret society, warrior or vocational group to the larger community or the nation in which the child lives.

Although the non-formal system has its shortcomings, its advantages outweigh such shortcomings in village-level development. The system is viable and usually custom-tailored to the priority needs of the community's developmental programs. The indigenous mechanism is unique in its functionality and flexibility. As one process of the educational component of the developmental process, it has a lot of chances of success because it accomodates indigenous values and practices and

utilizes indigenous resources.

Conclusion

I am, in conclusion, submitting that there is a great need to reinforce the bond of communication between the indigenous education and the current formal education system. The coming of age ceremonies should not only concentrate on teaching ethnic values and responsibilities of the local community. Such rituals should also inculcate into the child the values and aspirations of the larger society of Ghana with its multi-ethnic population composition and modern national responsibilities. Directly or indirectly, the ceremony's ulterior motive should be to teach the children the history of the local community and its contributions to past and present generations. It should also teach citizenship, which should stress the recognition of rights and liberties essential to a multi-ethnic society and how they are guaranteed. Through the ceremonies participants should also learn thier duties and responsibilities to their ethnic localities as well as to the larger society of Ghana.

Herbalists and fetish-priests should not only concentrate on maintaining their fame within the local community and acquiring personal financial rewards. Their commitment to their vocation in a developing society should drive them to extend their services to other communities and to function with the prime objective of improving the standard of health of members of the local and larger community.

The implications are that indigenous education in all forms will cease to be locally-oriented and ethnic-based. To a considerable degree the role of indigenous institutions should be to collaborate with formal education institutions or parrell national or developmental agencies in finding solutions to problems of development. In the process these indigenous institutions would be able to improve the quality of life in the village or community, and to participate in village-level development. This process will help to promote consciousness raising for community or town development and will have positive implications for nation building in general. This way the indigenous institutions will become development-oriented based on a nationally accepted ideology of social progress. The indigenous institutions should therefore be

encouraged to reorganize their programs in order to achieve the following objectives: (a) to fulfill the needs of the youth of the community and the larger society, (b) to encourage the youth to learn about their ethnic group heritage, and (c) to give the youth and the adult community an understanding of their ethnic group's contribution to community and national development.

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POLAND: IMPACT OF THE EDUCATION REFORM ACT OF 1971

by

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Education in Poland is heir to many creditable and progressive traditions acquired over its more than 1000 years of history. At the end of the 12th century, cathedral and collegiate schools provided education for the Polish elite. In 1364, Casimir the Great established the Academy in Cracow, today's Jagiellonian University, modeled along the lines of similar schools then existing in Bologna, Padua and Naples, with faculties in liberal arts, medicine and law. Closed down in 1370 after Casimir's death, it reopened in 1400 under the sponsorship of King Jagiello, modeled on the Paris Sorbonne.

The role of Cracow University in the development of spiritual culture was significant. Diverse philosophical currents of the period were tolerated. It was the only school in Europe where J. Buridan and his disciples' new physics regarding the new concept of motion (in opposition to Aristotle) was being taught throughout the 15th century. In philosophy, efforts were being made to relate philosophy to the natural and socio-moral sciences. Natural sciences reached a high standard. Cracow University became an international center of astronomy; among its more famous students was Nicolas Copernicus. It contributed to the development of secondary and higher education as many of its graduates became teachers as early as the end of the 14th century. The University also extablished links with the lower schools in the 15th century.

School instruction was adapted to current economic and political needs as a result of the influx of humanism into Poland, which began in the mid-15th century. Young noblemen and burghers were flocking to parish schools. The small number of peasant students soon were cut off when the schools failed to expand. The humanist tradition was maintained by the dissident schools, beginning in 1530. The dissenters' schools were prone to accept the latest advances in science, especially the natural sciences. The vernacular was used in instruction. In a short time these schools became centers of knowledge and spiritual

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culture. They ranked among the most progressive schools in the history of Polish education.

The Lutheran gymnasiums (secondary schools) in Elbląg, Gdańsk and Toruń became widely known in due course. Other dissident schools, as Calvinist gymnasium in Pinczów had an equally good reputation. An important dissenters' school in the 17th century was the gymnasium of the Bohemian Brethren in Leszno, near Poznań where Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) began working in 1628.

The Jesuit schools, begun in 1564, acquired a dominant position in secondary education through the mid-18th century, promoting linguistic and rhetoric skills, teaching young boys good manners, as well as social and political conservatism. Some noblemen opposed the Jesuit upbringing and set up their own schools with a curriculum which included Latin and Greek but also promoted the study of Polish language, history, politics, economics and Polish common and private law. The latter required judicial court-room practice and knowledge of formulas used in clerical work.

A Polish educational theory was developing, recognizing and substantiating the value of education for public life, as expressed in the 1551 treatises of Szymon Maricius "De Scholis seu academus," Andrzej Frych Modrzewski "De Republica Emendanda," and Exram Gliczner's "Books on Child Education in 1558." Upbringing and education was considered by Modrzewski to be basic to smooth functioning and organization of the State. He was very critical of court education, advocating instead a State school system available to all.

Advancing the concept of subordinating the schools to the State, in 1765 King Stanisław Poniatowski founded a School for Knights. The students were recruited from the not-so-rich gentry to work on reforms that would help do away with ignorance, backwardness and superstition. It was due to the efforts of a group of progressive gentry that the Commission for National Education was formed in 1773, the world's first Ministry of Education. The funds for this group came from the property and schools of the banned Jesuit order. This Commission set out to build up a uniform system of national education from elementary to higher education, to free education and upbringing of metaphysica and scholasticism. Under the supervision of this Commission, emphasis was

put on mathematics and sciences; Cracow University was reformed to be more in tune with Polish culture and history and the needs of the time. Hugo Kołłataj established a chair of practical mechanics where Sunday lectures were given to craftsmen and artisans. The Commission devoted much attention to elementary education, proposing inclusion of acquisition of competence in agriculture, handcrafts and trade.

The educational reform ceased with the fall of the gentry commonwealth and the three consecutive partitions of Poland among Russia, Prussia and Austria (1772, 1793 and 1795 respectively). In an attempt to reduce the country to submission, the governments of the partitioning powers Russified and Germanized the schools. The Russians closed down the Universities of Warsaw and Wilno; teachers and pupils were subject to police control. By the 1860's, with continued Russian and Prussian measures of repression, numerous school strikes were provoked.

The Austrian-ruled part of Poland, under the National School Board, succeeded in Polonizing elementary and secondary education. The Universities of Cracow and Lwow, Polonized in 1870-74, were centers of Polish scientific thought and maintained high academic standards.

In 1918, after 123 years of subjection and partition, the building of a uniform school system was no easy matter. The problems of schools for the national minorities had to be solved; training of qualified personnel was necessary; school buildings were lacking. Huge financial outlays and a great organizational effort were called for. How difficult a task this was, is reflected in such facts, as, only 47% of the children obliged by law to attend school did so; close to 60% of the teachers had only elementary education.

It was a considerable achievement that by 1929, 96% of the children were attending school, but the children of the poor were not: less than 30% of peasant and workers' children.[2] The 10 year thrust began to lag and by 1935, only 88% were in school, which meant that almost one million children were going without schooling. Only 16½% of 13-14 year olds finished seven-year schools and 34% finished four-year primary schooling. In 1937-38, only 9.7% of youth of workers and 8.7% of peasant background were in high schools.[3] The 1929 depression influenced Poland's economic position. The unemployment and destitution of large masses of the population made it practically impossible for them to seek an

education. But, higher education developed between World War I and II. State Universities were established in Warsaw, Poznań and Wilno and the Catholic University was founded in Lublin. In addition, the Polytechnic in Warsaw, the Mining Academy in Cracow, the Higher School of Trade, the Main School of Agriculture and the Free Polish University were opened. Scientific institutes were established. General and specialized scientific societies came into existence, especially the Academy of Learning (later transformed into the Polish Academy of Learning) which was the country's main scientific institution and represented Polish science abroad. Despite difficulties, Polish science was progressing, but mainly in institutions of higher education. The enrollment in 1937-38[4] was close to 50,000 students. These were the elites, due to high tuition fees and the limited range of secondary schools. The national minority school system was being reduced in scope. Of Poland's population of 32 million (1931),[5] nearly 10 million spoke some other language: Ukrainian, Byelorussians, Jews, Germans and others. Apart from the German schools which had far greater rights than Polish schools in Germany, schools for the nationalities were gravely restricted, particularly in regard to access to secondary and higher education. Between 1918-38,[6] Polish universities conferred a total of 83,000 degrees--far short of the need to fulfill the social and economic demand for people with higher education.

From 1939 to 1944, Poland was enslaved by the Nazis who aimed to annihilate the Polish culture. As a result of World War II, material losses in schools and scientific institutions amounted to 60% of pre-war assets.[7] About 16,000 teachers died. Nazi authorities had closed down the universities, abolished the Polish Academy of Learning and scientific institutes, deported professors to concentration camps and all secondary schools were closed. Polish history and geography were banned in the so-called general Government elementary schools, which covered only a small part of Poland. All other elementary schools were closed.

In retaliation, the Poles organized an underground system of education. The Secret Organization of Teachers[8] unified a system that covered the entire country. The immense patriotic achievement of these teachers may be seen from the fact that some 10,000 young people pursued underground university studies, about 100,000 were in underground secondary schools and that elementary underground instruction in Polish language, history and geography reached about 1 million children.

With the end of World War II, along with land reform and nationalization of industry, the educational reform was the essential factor that determined the new economic, political, social and cultural face of a reviving Poland. In the years 1944-48, the basic programme of democratizing education was implemented. A uniform school system was adopted and education at all levels was made accessible to children of the working-class and peasantry. Free tuition was put into effect and a system of scholarships organized. By 1952,[9] illiteracy as a social phenomenon was eliminated, elementary education made fully universal.

Aiding the further development of education was the 1961 Law on the Development of the Educational System,[10] which extended elementary school to eight years and called for new curriculums that would relate to the developing technology and which would expand the role of the school in children's upbringing. These reforms--longer period of compulsory universal schooling, new curriculums and working methods--should make it possible for the schools to transform society. Under the stipulations of the Act, instruction and upbringing in school are now designed to promote the all-around development of pupils and ensure that they become conscious and creative citizens of the People's Republic of Poland.

By 1970, there were over a half million graduates in higher education (a 900% increase), more than six million with completed secondary education (300% increase), and over 11 million primary school graduates. The expenditure for education between 1961-71, had gone from 7.2% of the national budget ($160 million) to 9% ($390 million). An average of 4,000 school rooms were built annually.[11] Public generosity in support of education was exemplified when in planning in 1958 for the Millenium of Poland (1966) the Poles pledged to contribute funds to build 1,000 new schools. As a result, Polish youth received over 1,400 new schools.[12]

While considerable achievements have been made between 1945-70, certain problems remain. Universal free education has reached the masses at primary level. In primary schools, 32% are peasants, 44% worker class, and 26% professional class youth. But, at the university level only 14% are of peasant, 29% of worker, while 55% are of professional classes.[13] In the village schools there is a high drop-out rate; a high degree of non-promotion to the next grade and a lack of qualified teachers. The teaching methods are not relevant to the needs of the country and the

evolving political, social and economic systems: too much rote learning and lack of proctical work experiences. A closer relationshin needs to be developed between the home and the community which exert profound influence on the student's character development. A pressino need exists to take advantage of the mass media and audio-visual aids in education. Finally, an important part of education needs to concern itself with the upbringing of youth through labor for labor, through civic activities and through consistent pursuit of the nation's goal of improvement to fulfill the ideals of the socialist society.

Following the political changes of 1970, there began a search for sources of renovating and accelerating socio-economic development; education became a prime target. A Commission of Education (Committee of Experts) was appointed by the government to analyze the situation and make recommendations for change, under the chairmanshin of the distinguished sociologist Professor Jan Sczepanski.[14] The Polish United Workers Party laid down its program in the realm of education in the resolution of the Sixth Congress, held in December, 1971.[15] According to this long-term program, the new educational system should make secondary education universal and compulsory for all citizens, provide for up-to-date contents of education at all levels, introduce more effective methods of teaching and reading, ensure highly intensive training to the gifted and create an adequate organizational framework for the network of schools of various types and for suitable links with social life in all its diverse aspects. Steps ought to be taken to raise the social status of the teacher profession, to attend to the ideological commitment and to the conditions of life and work of the teachers.[16]

The generalized proposals of the Sixth Congress, the Education Reform Act of 1971 had to be translated into an operational model. Under the chairmanship of Prof. Szymanski the Committee conducted its inquiries for three years, with a panel of 24 experts, consultations of over 200 academics. This yielded 88 experts' briefs and studies, a further 273 analyses drawn up by learned, economic and social institutions, and 1,352 publications along with suggestions put forth in the press, radic and television.[17]

In November, 1972, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party in the Seventh Plenum Session met to discuss the schooling and up-

bringing of the younger generation. From the program there has emerged the Parliamentary resolution on the responsibilities of the nation and state in the upbringing of the younger generation and their inclusion in the construction of socialism in Poland.[18]

The Parliament adopted in November, 1973, a resolution on the system of education in Poland. It demands a universal, free-of-charge, compulsory and uniform, in terms of syllabus for urban and rural areas, ten grade secondary school. This calls for early schooling in the first three grades and systematic instruction in the remaining seven grades. Separate artistic schools or special classes in the arts should be set up for the gifted. Those who might fail to complete secondary schooling are to be trained for practical jobs in vocational classes.[19]

The ways to higher schools would lead through: the ten-grade secondary school only through achievement on nation-wide competitive exams; the two-year schools of specialization--for the vast majority of future undergraduates; through vocational schools based on the ten-grade secondary school; and through the ten-grade secondary school plus at least two years of employment or military service.

Kindergarten attendance shall be compulsory for at least one year before admission to school. The overall goal is to build up an integrated system of schooling and upbringing and care of all children and young people. The year of pre-school is to ensure provision of equal opportunities to every child irrespective of living in the city, town or rural areas.

The reform in education calls for a new type of school in the village. Any effort to streamline the school system and to level out the existing disproportions must concentrate on the village schools. The countryside and agriculture continue to play a major role in Poland's economy. About 48% of the total population live in villages; 29.5% depend on farming for a livelihood and over 35% of all gainfully employed work in agriculture.[20] According to population forecasts,[21] there will continue to be a steady decline in urban birth-rate; rural areas will have grown between 1975-90 into the main reservoir of both labor and personnel for schools at all levels. Consequently, today's village youth must begin to acquire the skills the labor market will need in the next 15 years.

The replacement for the village school is to be a new type of all-

round educational and cultural institution, designated as the "commune educational and cultural center." It is more than a school. It is a set of educational, welfare and cultural institutions which are to be opened in all the new administrative communes to be formed from consolidation of the old ones under a reform of local government. Branch schools in the villages will be retained only if too distant for small children to travel to school. Beginning with grade V all pupils will be bussed to the commune's educational-cultural center or be placed in hostels.

In addition to the elementary school, every commune shall have a full-course secondary one and a number of vocational schools adapted to the needs of the commune and catering for trades useful both to the local agricultural economy and for work in town. This is not all that is new about the commune schools. They will include some sections previously unknown in village schools. Every commune school will have an attendant psychologist, career guidance, medical services and special facilities for the handicapped. It also will be equipped with amenities like cinemas, theatres, lecture halls, sports facilities--all to help fulfill its culture-forming role among the adult community. The center will act as a base for life-long education for adults.

In the course of time, as many as 2,000 such compounds will have to be built in Poland. Even more difficult are problems of staff: 2,000 principals with university degrees and long teaching experience, let alone finding the teachers who will be willing to live in a village. It will be imperative to overcome the ingrained reservations and fears of many village teachers regarding this new concept of commune schools with many innovations.[22]

The establishment of Central Rural Schools in previously undersupplied areas received more consideration by the Seventh Party Congress. Progress has been made, but it remains an important task. Gierek told the Seventh Congress,[23] "in half of the communities consolidated schools have arisen in order to overcome the differences in instructional levels between the city and rural areas."

Position papers of two Party delegates dealt at length with the rural problem. The director of a Central Rural School in Bydgoszcz declared that, "the joint efforts of Party and school officials together with active parents was needed to overcome the resistance of those who opposed innovation."[24]

While the reform of rural education is to bring greater quality in educational opportunity and to develop trained workers, might there be some other rationale? Attempts at collectivization in Poland[25] have been unsuccessful. Approximately 1.5% of the land is collectivized and 15% are cooperatives. Peasant farms comprise over 80% of all cultivated land. The majority of the farms are small: one-third are less than two acres; 65% are under 12 acres.[26] The relative economic inefficiency of small agricultural parcels combined with frequent poor growing seasons contribute to the persistent food shortages in Poland. The peasant clings to the tradition of pride in possession of his land. His children are expected to follow. Meanwhile, the compulsory ten-grade schooling and the communal school will remove the young from their homes. With emphasis on vocational education, and the city life, the young will begin to turn away from the farm. For others, training in mechanized agriculture and administration of large farms will foster the belief in consolidation of small farms. Members of the Agricultural Circles would be used to influence the youth in their outlooks. With the depletion of needed labor, the aging farmer may have no alternative but to give up his small land holding to a cooperative or collective.

The Education Reform Act of 1971 called for a lowering of the age for the beginning of compulsory education. Pre-school education was to be expanded so that all six-year olds would be in kindergarten. In 1977, all six-year olds were obligated to attend kindergarten.

The concern of the Polish government for the proper upbringing of children has persisted since the end of World War II. At first, the government's program was aimed largely at preserving children in a biological sense. Nearly 3 million children and young people were orphaned. Then, as the nation began rebuilding, with the need for both parents to work, care had to be provided for their children. There has been measurable development in this sector. Even so, in 1975[27] only 32.5% of children between the ages of three and six enjoyed pre-school. By 1980,[28] it is planned that 58% of that group and 96% of six-year olds will have places in kindergarten. In 1976 almost 90% of the six-year olds were in kindergartens.

The grandmothers of Poland continue to be the major baby-sitters. They are an important force, shaping the child's social and moral develop-

ment. With seven years of such close association, the child entering first grade comes to school with grandmother's views.

The compulsory kindergarten is emphasized in the Reform to help the child catch up with his peers, lacking the pre-school experiences both in cognitive areas but perhaps more importantly in social areas. In kindergarten, basic cognitive skills are to be emphasized. Also, all children are to be involved in some form of productive labors, as watering plants in school, caring of pets, working in the school garden, serving lunch, cleaning up tables, tending to gardens in the nearby parks or apartment complexes. Likewise, patriotism and love of the country are instilled through celebrations of all State holidays, through meetings with local officials and learning about what is being done for children by government efforts. While individual interests are to be nurtured, more important are group endeavors which foster a collective spirit and enhance the maturity of the child in acceptance of his larger role in the society outside his home.

Any educational system is only as good as the teachers who implement it. The shortage of qualified teachers has not diminished. With the greater opportunities for higher salaries and better living conditions for the factory worker and higher level jobs in technological areas, concerted effort is being exerted to encourage young people to choose teaching. In 1972,[29] the SEJM passed the Charter of Rights and Duties of Teachers. It granted new rights and higher salaries to teachers--but also imposed more pedagogic and educational obligations. With the new salary schedule there are to be four increases from 1973-76. All teachers must possess a Master's degree. "Their professional, ideological and moral qualifications are to be heightened."[30] In the years 1973-75, 41% of those obligated to take courses at higher pedagogical schools did so (67,528 employed teachers).[31] At the same time, efforts are being made to provide housing for teachers. The latter is a long-term project.

While the Reform Act of 1971 proposed a massive reform with compulsory kindergarten for six-year olds, the comprehensive compulsory 10-year school, alternative means of access to higher education and improved vocational education, the sectors of education being given the most attention are higher education and science. At the Seventh Party Congress, Gierek provided a brief summary of essential points in his report to the Politburo:[32]

In recognition of the fact that the present higher educational system guarantees the fulfillment of the fundamental needs of the country, all efforts must be directed toward strengthening and improving higher education. In the period of 1976-80 many problems of material support and equipment as well as further progress in methodology, teaching and research must be resolved.

The Sixth Party Congress has establihsed in its Resolution similar goals. "In the current stage, the priorities are: increase the quality of education one training of the young intelligentsia; increase the role of higher education in scientific research that serves the needs of the economy and the national culture."[33]

In the main, the need exists to integrate the theoretical and practical. As stated by Kaliski[34] in the 1976 final Resolution of the Seventh Congress, "We must modernize our higher schools and integrate them with educational reform; we must find ways of linking the academic to the industrial world." The Party wants to increase the impact of higher learning on economic life. "Education should lead social and economic development," as affirmed by Minister Jerzy Kuberski. The focus of this reform is "the creation of dynamic personalities for the further development of a society that is building socialism."[35]

The Action Plan for the 1976-80 Five Year Plan comes to grips with problems not envisaged earlier. Among other items, it deals with organization of leisure time, . . . the implication of mass media in the reformed middle school, . . . and the introduction of a model milieu-oriented school. The realization of the tasks requires a doubling of the state educational budget as compared with the last Five Year Plan.[36]

To complete this account of the Education Reform Act of 1971, we cannot fail to discuss an area of continuing concern, the question of a uniform system of upbringing. It has been widely discussed in Poland for some time. School cannot limit its work to teaching; it is bound to take part in upbringing the younger generation. The school must mould their world view, influence ideological development and promote their sense of social and moral responsibility.

Two crucial documents were adapted at the 7th plenary session of the Polish Workers Party Central Committee devoted to the upbringing of the younger generation (November, 1972) and on the participation of

youth in building a Socialist Poland (April, 1973).[37] The programme specifies the goals and contents of socialist education and the responsibilities of the State in this respect.

These resolutions are of singular importance because the goals of socialist education are placed there in the wider context of the country's current and future social situation: the cultural - ideological, the social and the material sphere. "They extend to all spheres of socialist education, making us aware of the necessity to coordinate all educational undertakings of the family, the school, the place of employment, the armed forces, the various cultural and educational institutions, sports and tourism, the mass media and publishing houses."[38]

The work being done to implement these resolutions has been along the following lines: 1. holding the principal of the rural communal centers responsible for total coordination of the in and out of school activities of youth and personnel. 2. the Ministry of Education has worked out new rules for the parents' school committees, under which these bodies would enjoy greater prerogatives in matters of education and rearing; 3. the work of the Children's Friends Association (TPD) is being assisted by the school authorities who are obliged to help set up new branches; 4. a uniform programme of socialist education for all schools has been developed and each school is obliged to work out its own schedule for this; 5. the rules for the work of the class tutor responsible for morally defective youth are being prepared, providing for wider prerogatives, responsibilities and duties, and specifying the conditions for such work to be conducted both in and outside school; 6. the Pupil's Charter (Kodeks Studentów) or Student's Code - has been worked out. The teachers have been directed by the Ministry of Education to take part in the practical implementation of these recommendations in their everyday work.

In October, 1976, I visited with Professor Heliodor Muszynski, "father" of the contemporary Polish Upbringing Programme. He explained the necessity for the schools to provide more student activity in place of the continued stringent encyclopedic learning still prevailing in Poland. He believes that the student's life must be organized to promote relevant, meaningful experiences to further the development of Polish socialist society. More precisely, he stated that the Marxian thesis of active and massive involvement of youth in the transformation of the society was imperative.

One more statement on this theme, by the Minister of Education, Jerzy Kuberski:

> The school must be organized in such a way as to produce active, creative, socially committed individuals who would be in a position to develop and transform their environment. In the ideological and moral social plane, our goal must be to instill a profound patriotism and internationalism, a willingness to stand up for the ideals of socialism as expressed in both the attitudes and convictions of the young and above all in their creative activity, self-improvement and work for the benefit of the society.[39]

His initial project was the publication of a basic text, "Theoretical Foundations of the School's System of Upbringing." Following four years of experimentation in a small number of Poznan district schools, the next textbook was produced, "Theoretical Foundations of the System of Upbringing in the Elementary Grades." Following through, he then developed 12 manuals to be used by the upbringers (class tutors). These deal with topics such as organization of group life in school; patriotic and civic upbringing in school; integrated learning and upbringing; the school's responsibility for the after-class and out-of-class time of youth; introduction of productive labour; leadership of the school in upbringing; community's responsibility in students' upbringing.

As I went about visiting schools in different parts of the country, I saw some of the efforts regarding this aspect of the student's life. Each classroom of children chose a name for their group, selected their colors, kept a class book recording through writing, drawing and photographs of their activities; awards achieved in sports; chose a class motto and a pin to wear. A gold book (Złota Księga) recorded the select few who achieved highest honors in academic and non-academic areas. There was a Scout corner with slogans, etc. Field trips to places of work (oblądе prace) are taken as a means of career orientation.

Monthly parents' meetings are held to discuss topics on child upbringing. The parents have to sign the child's Day Book--a comprehensive record book which details assignments, achievements, infractions and the like. These become a part of the student's cumulative records

and follow him throughout his schooling. Slogans could be seen in some schools and outside the school, to motivate and to inspire.

All students are required to participate in special interest circles (Kolka) scheduled as part of the regular daily programs, and teachers are responsible to assist. The teaching load is 26 hours, but the work week is 40 hours.

In order to raise the sense of civic responsibility, "civic education" has been introduced in the seventh grade and in the final forms of secondary school, wherever possible, the course "preparation for life in the Socialist family."

Another link in the system of upbringing is the holiday scheme. Summer and winter camps are organized. Each summer close to a million children spend a month away from home: city children are sent to camps (Kolonia) and rural youth, often housed in schools, come to visit museums, sightsee, visit factories and to learn about city live.

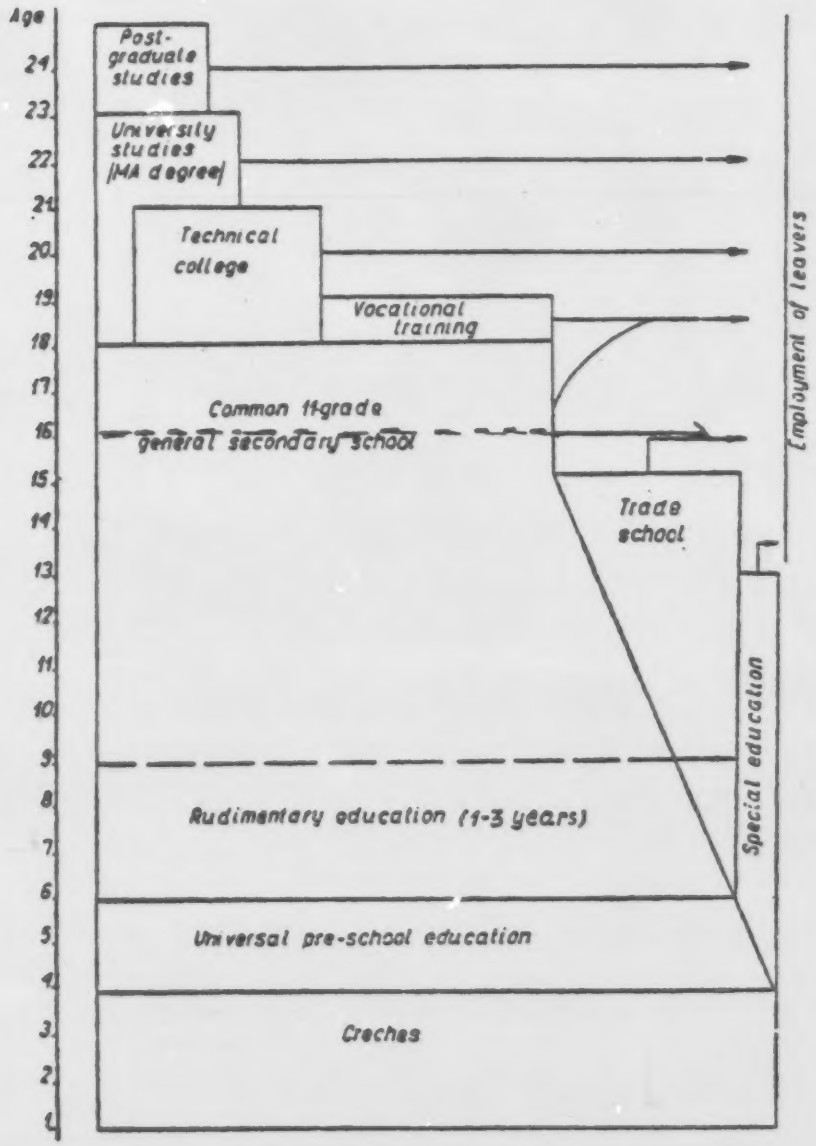
Finally, I wish to comment on the mounting interest I have found in the area of family life and juvenile justice. Youth up to the age of 21 are considered as minors by the courts. An extensive network of foster homes, group homes and rehabilitative institutions have been developed. The public, through places of employment, provide a savings book, housing and guaranteed employment to the youth. For the very young, they help fund Children's Homes (Dom Dziecka). The State does not hesitate to intervene if it is deemed the home and parents are not good for the child.

What the Education Reform Act of 1971 has instigated is another lengthy series of projected changes affecting not just the schools, but all sectors of Polish society that would advance the socialist goals. The rural areas, in particular, are seeing the thrust for raising of standards of rural youth through the communal school. Teachers are dissatisfied with the ten-year school as they see this as leading to lower standards. They feel that two years have been cut off in the time to prepare students for post-secondary programs. Compulsory kindergarten went into effect the fall of 1977, but extension of pre-school for more of the 3-6 year olds is not feasible. The upbringing systems envisions a highly centralized, organized, bureaucratized programme. Teachers' salaries have been increased, but nowhere near enough to attract

the supply needed if the revised curricula are to be implemented. And to provide all that the reformed curriculum implies, with an acceleration of polytechnic and vocational education, expenditures for education must be increased three- and four-fold. Meantime, to bridge the technological gap, Poland as a Soviet bloc nation has amassed a deficit, second only to the Soviet Union. The outlook for educational budgets is far from promising.

Despite the incentives and pressures to increase vocational education, the Poles' desire to enhance their status through educational advancement. One of every three Poles is in some form of schooling. The past lives on in Poland. The liberal arts and sciences still are seen as the only good education.

While the State's plan calls for intensification of efforts to mould the socialist man, the arts in Poland--music, fine arts, drama, literature, continue to be avant-garde. There is a single educational system, but the Catholic Church grows in strength and in influence on the Polish mind. While the Polish teacher works 40 hours, the Catholoc clergy work 30 hours--to provide religious instruction, to each out to the people. Cardinal Wyszynski urges the people to support a socialist economy but never an atheistic society. To be Polish means to be Catholic and fiercely nationalistic. Poland's history of orientation to Western thought, oppression and partition by foreign nations, dogged individualism may be the most potent forces that will persist, and future Five Year Plans for education will be directed toward the hoped for socialist society. As I have often heard said in Poland, "Remember, we have been building our nation for over 1,000 years and we are in no hurry."



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NONFORMAL EDUCATION AND THE DELIVERY OF RURAL HEALTH SERVICES IN AFRICA

by

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Philip Coombs defines nonformal education as "that bewildering assortment of . . . educational training activities, that in any social system provide an important complement to the total structure of education in any country"[1] Such education is known by a variety of names: continuing education, on-the-job training, manpower training, and extension services. Taken together, they can contribute both to individual career mobility and to the satisfaction of national goals. Coombs contends that nonformal education in the developing countries must play a unique role.[2] Unlike the advanced technological societies, the newly independent states of Africa and Asia have not yet developed a broad-based literate population. Moreover, a shallow national capital structure has made it difficult for these countries to develop a system of universal education rapidly over the short term. As a result, educational planning must be directed, in part, to the organization of modes of nonformal education which develop skills that have an immediate impact on the process of social change in these nations. Lacking the fiscal base for universal schooling, educational resources in most developing countries must be targeted to satisfy the most urgent developmental needs.

One of the key issues for the developing nations is how to stem the tide of spiraling population growth and, at the same time, improve the overall physical well-being and productivity of populations as a whole. Solutions to these problems have been rendered difficult due to the dearth of trained personnel capable of delivering adequate health care services, particularly to the rural areas of the developing world. These services, if they are to be effective must somehow deal with a range of medical issues, from preventive and curative care to nutrition, maternal and child care and family planning.

Rates of population growth which exceed rates of economic growth

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pose serious problems for the political systems in which they occur. But independent of either of these variables the negative import on economic development resulting from inadequate health and nutrition standards. Some studies have suggested that population size is more likely to be congruent with the ability of a nation's economic system to absorb manpower, when health standards remain high.[3] The lack of adequately trained health manpower, therefore, is apt to have enormous impact on the rate of economic growth in developing countries.

In many African countries, the distribution of health services is heavily influenced by an urban-rural dichotomy. While sixty to ninety percent of the population of sub-Sahara Africa live in rural areas, health services personnel (doctors, nurses, allied health personnel, facilities and programs) are primarily lodged in urban areas. Since rural residents constitute a majority in these countries the lack of adequate health and family planning services contribute substantially to population growth rates which impede economic growth and expansion. Consequently, the proliferation of trained health delivery personnel into rural areas is a high priority for many African government. Concommitantly, the policy of the government of the United States is to help promote practical and economic stability in these areas, in part, by granting financial support for efficient and affordable rural health care centers in Africa. This is being done largely through bilateral agreements negotiated through the Agency for International Development.

This paper offers a descriptive analysis of a project first developed by the Center for Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning, (MCH/FP), at Meharry Medical College in 1970. The Project sponsored training and technical assistance programs designed to insure the capacity of a number of African States to expand rural health delivery systems. The Projects focused on the training of African Health Care Personnel to plan and provide for the health of mothers and children, and to develop family planning and other health related services. The Project, supported by the Agency for International Development, served participants from Kenya, Zaire, Botswana, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Swaziland (See Appendix I). Meharry, with its long-standing commitment to the establishment of community health programs, in the rural South, and to the education of medical students from Africa and

the West Indies, was unusually well-suited to embark on this program.

African students seeking admission to the program were required to satisfy certain qualifications. All were either licensed nurses or midwives no older than 45 years of age, in good health and currently assigned to a maternal and child health care center in their own countries. In addition, each participant was nominated for the program by their respective governments. Approximately forty-four of these nurses completed their training during each project year (See Appendix I).

As suggested above, the Meharry Center actually sponsored two separate but related training projects--one in family planning/maternal and child health care, and one in nutrition planning. The former was held twice a year for eighteen weeks, and the latter for four weeks twice a year.

The curriculum in family planning and maternal and child health care, the more didatic of the two, was divided into three phases. During phase one, students attended communication workshops designed to bridge the cultural differences between trainer and trainees, and to help students make the transition from the world of professional practice to an academic and clinical environment. Phase two of the Project was devoted to the study of the substantive and theoretical aspects of maternal and child health care, and to clinical training in health care facilities in Nashville, Tennessee, and elsewhere. Students gained experience in family planning clinics, child care clinics, gynecology clinics and at public health departments. This integration of academic study and practical experiences was designed to provide a competent grasp of the broad sweep of issues associated with the delivery of health services to mothers and children. The Meharry staff assumed that such training would enable the trainees to assume an immediate role in the expansion and delivery of health care services to rural areas in their countries.

Phase three of the program was designed to allow each student to pursue a project of her own choosing, but applicable to a practical situation in rural areas of Africa. Students tended to work in such areas as basic information or education for family planning, clinical administration, nutrition and program planning at the community level.

The staff of the Maternal Child Health/Family Planning Center

served a preceptors. Also, during this phase, students who needed additional clinical skills were given special attention. Upon the successful completion of the program, students were awarded a certificate in Maternal and Child Health/Family Planning.

As indicated earlier, the MCU/FP Center also conducted two workshops annually designed to provide supplemental training for African professionals active in nutrition planning at the community level. The curriculum plan focused on the analysis of national and local food production needs, ways of developing alternative solutions to nutrition-related issues, as well as an understanding of how nutrition programs are linked to maternal and child health care, family planning, sanitation and other health related problems.

Requirements for admission to the nutrition workshops were similar to those described earlier. Special emphasis was placed upon the recruitment of students from both French and English speaking African countries who already held positions in nutrition related agencies.

In addition to the two training activities described above, the Center also provided technical assistance to African governments in diagnosing and assessing local health problems, and in planning intervention methodologies for addressing these problems. The MCH/FP Center also provided some basis for judging how well Meharry-trained professionals were utilized in indigenous health delivery systems.

The training Projects at the Meharry MCH/FP Center were designed with the expectations that, over time, the African personnel trained there would develop a capacity to spin-off larger scale indigenous training programs designed to reach larger numbers of health personnel in rural areas. To this end prototype training manuals were developed in such areas as nutrition planning, maternal and child care and family planning.

The Meharry Project, and others like it[4] represent an effort to tie nonformal education directly into the process of social change in African countries. In theory, at least, knowledge and skills developed in relatively short training experiences are almost immediately transferred into efforts and improve rural health care networks. The training requirements appropriate to this kind of endeavor would be hard to

satisfy in a highly structured, formalistic educational enterprise.

So far, there is only fragmentary evidence concerning the actual impact of the Meharry Project on the improvment of health care services in the affected countries. However, such evidence[5] as is available suggests that graduates of the Program are, in significant numbers, moving into important training and decision making roles in rural health care centers in Africa. It is in this latter respect that the ultimate success of the Program must be judged.

Notes and References

1 Philip Coombs, The World Education Crisis, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 138.

2 Ibid., p. 142.

3 See Research Triangle Institute, "Topical Investigation and Analysis of Promoting Family Planning Through Health Services," A.I.D., 1970.

4 There are similar programs at University of California at Berkeley and Cornell.

5 Evelyn K. Tomes, Evaluation Report on the Meharry Botswana Project, 1977.

Note: The heavily outlined areas represent the countries from which the participants were selected.

MCH/FP PARTICIPANTS/143
(1971-1977)
Appendix I

YEAR	NO.	COUNTRY
1972	7	Kenya
" "	1	Zaire
1973	1	Botswana
" "	4	Ethiopa
" "	5	Lesotho
" "	5	Liberia
" "	4	Nigeria
" "	3	Sierra Leone
" "	2	Swaziland
1974	7	Liberia
" "	2	Nigeria
" "	3	Sierra Leone
" "	4	Swaziland
" "	1	Zambia
" "	9	Botswana
" "	6	Ethiopa
" "	1	Lesotho

YEAR	NO.	COUNTRY
1975	5	Liberia
" "	4	Swaziland
" "	2	Zaire
" "	7	Zambia
" "	9	Botswana
" "	2	Egypt
" "	2	Lesotho
1976	3	Botswana
" "	4	Lesotho
" "	4	Liberia
" "	6	Nigeria
" "	1	Sierra Leone
" "	1	South Africa
" "	3	Sudan
" "	3	Swaziland
" "	2	Tanzania
" "	5	Zambia
" "	1	Zaire
" "	2	Ghana

Appendix I (cont.)

YEAR	NO.	COUNTRY
1977	4	Sierra Leone
" "	1	Tanzania
" "	1	Lesotho
" "	2	Nigeria
" "	2	Swaziland
" "	2	Gambia
" "	2	Ghana

TOTAL NUMBER BY COUNTRY

Egypt - 2
Ghana - 4
Liberia - 21
South Africa - 1
Tanzania - 3
Botswana - 21
Ethiopa - 2
Kenya - 7
Nigeria - 14
Sudan - 3
Zaire - 4
Gambia - 2
Lesotho - 13
Sierra Leone - 11
Swaziland - 14
Zambia - 13

Numbers and figures unavailable for 1978.

Note: These figures were gathered during the time that the author was director of the project.

NONFORMAL EDUCATION IN MEXICO

by

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My first introduction to nonformal education in Mexico came as a result of my being disillusioned with enrolling in a course in the Spanish language in an institution proximate, but not necessarily contiguous to the hall in which we are now. The Carnegie Report, as conveyed by Fred Hechinger in the New York Times, accurately describes the state of foreign language teaching in the United States where, it seems, while we have more and more international responsibilities, we are also becoming more and more, paradoxically enough, monolingual in a polyglot world.

One way out of this failure of academe, is, of course, to go to a country, as I did, and learn the language among the people. I enrolled in a language institute called CALE (Centro de Lenguas y Artes) in Cuernavaca Mexico. At this nonformal school, there were field trips, cultural activities, fiestas as well as an opportunity to learn the language. It was not a painless experience by any manner of means, but it was enriching and provided an introduction to the culture.

I would recommend such an institute highly.

Another institute which is quickly becoming "formal" but which would have qualified as "nonformal" at least until now is the Instituto De Estudios Professionales Para La Administración Del Tiempo Libre or an institute devoted to Leisure Studies. This institute has been developed in the YMCA in Mexico City. It is a structure worth looking into.

Looking back into Mexican history, its educational system, like many other Latin American educational systems, was dominated by Spanish Jesuit influence until the late nineteenth century. The influence was largely classical in nature, highly elitist and aimed predominantly at educating the clerics and the elite, although not exclusively.

During the latter half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century, Mexican education came under the French influence; it then became highly urban, elitist and centralized.

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This is not to say that there were not significant and notable exceptions. Thomas LaBelle quotes George Sanchez referring to the first school in the New World at Texcoco in 1523:

> It is characteristic of the efforts of the educational pioneers of this period that they practiced the theory that, in order to teach, the teacher must first be a disciple of his pupils. Fray Pedro and his companions learned the Aztec language. They studied Indian customs and established cordial and friendly relationships with the Indian nobles as well as with the masses. Instruction in this first school was carried on in Spanish and in the Indian (Aztec) language. Fray Pedro made every effort to relate his teachings to the natural life of his students. Through physical activities, through music and processions, by the use of pictorial illustrations and hieroglyphics and through the medium of their own language, this far-seeing educator made the school as natural as possible for the Indians and made it truly a school of action and a school of the people. In 1526, Fray Pedro transferred his center of operations from Texcoco to the City of Mexico proper. There he established the great Indian school of San Jose in connection with the convent of San Francisco. There he gathered more than 1,000 Indian children to instruct them in arts and crafts, in music, in reading and in myriad activities. There, two hundred years before Pastalozzi, three hundred years before Froebel and almost four hundred years before John Dewey, he had an activity school, a school based on current life. (1936:37)

Today in Mexico nonformal education (education extrascolar) embraces literacy training, cultural missions, Indian education and agricultural education. These four areas often converge, overlap and serve the same populations which are essentially rural and native. These populations were served by the educational system and they are an outgrowth of the revolutionary ideals in the early part of the twentieth century. "The rudimentary schools, begun in 1911," writes Clark Gill in Education in a Changing Mexico, "the rural schools and the cultural missions of the 1920's, and several literacy campaigns are all examples of efforts to achieve the Revolutionary goal of bringing the fundamentals of education and culture to neglected groups."[2]

The drive to eliminate illiteracy in Mexico has met with spectacular

success, especially when measured by percentage gains. (In 1944, for example, the illiteracy rate exceeded 50 percent, a percentage which was dramatically reduced to 28 percent in 1964;) but the population increase was so rapid that in terms of absolute numbers, the numbers of illiterates remained substantially high.

The agencies and methods were the same as those found in many other Latin American countries: public reading rooms, literacy training schools, radio schools, commercial television, mobile units complete with films, records, books, etc.

I believe, it also can be said "agricultural education" follows similar patterns to other countries.

But perhaps what is more unique to Mexico and what has influenced many Latin American countries are the cultural missions which grew out of the traditional rural school setting. Until the early 1920's a cultural mission team would visit a rural school to assist the instruction for varying lengths of time in each setting. In 1922, however, a new element was added to the rural school: each school was to have a plot of land connected to it for the purpose of teaching practical agricultural skills to students in these rural schools. Today each cultural mission team consists of the following persons:

One chief of the mission
(Usually this is a certified teacher with five years rural experience.)
One home economist
One nurse-midwife
One teacher in each of the following fields:
- agriculture
- carpentry
- industrial arts
- masonry
- music
- plastic arts

Ten teacher promoters of literacy training

Today each cultural mission is motorized and comes with much equipment. The original rural school was "in place," but with the land addition to each school. The school became community-based and in turn

these schools became centers for social change. The cultural missions emphasized a many-pronged approach to solve community problems.

La Belle writes about the cultural mission:

> . . . the missions were bold efforts to use the school as centers for social change and as a consequence the impact of the missions as an educational and community development model was far reaching in Latin America.[3]

Still another unique aspect of nonformal education in Mexico is what developed in education for the Indigentes or Indians.

In the early part of the twentieth century, it was thought to transport Indians from the rural areas to the city, educate them and then request them to return to the rural areas.

The experiment did not work.

There are other agencies: Indian Elementary Schools, boarding schools, inservice programs for those involved in Indian education, Brigades for Indian improvement. (These "brigades" were teams or units very similar in structure and purpose to the cultural missions described above.)

I would like to call attention, however, to the Service for Promoting Bilingual and Bicultural Education. This service comes under the agency, Dirección General de Servicios Educativos en el Medio Indigena, DGSEMI. In 1964 "promotores" were enlisted who prepared monolingual Indian children to enter school. They assisted them in learning Spanish as a second language, while at the same time trying to help them maintain their Indian identity. In 1965, there were some 600 bilingual promotores preparing some 18,000 children; in 1971, there were 3,446 promotores culturales y muestros bilingües (cultural promotors and, an additional element, bilingual teachers). By 1976, that number had risen dramatically to 14,133 bilingual promotores and bilingual teachers and, as far as I can see, had spread to all phases of Indian education.

Thus, there are four areas of nonformal education in Mexico: the rural schools and cultural missions, the agricultural schools, the Indian schools with their unique bilingual component and the literacy schools. While all of these areas are worthy of further study, I would suggest that the cultural missions as centers for social change (and the Brigades

for Indian Improvement) and the Service for Promoting Bilingual and Bicultural Education as being truly distinctive to Mexico and worthy of further study.

Notes and References

1 Thomas J. LaBelle, Nonformal Education and Social Change in Latin America. (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1976), p. 72.

2 Clark C. Gill, Education in a Changing Mexico. (Washington: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969), p. 78.

3 LaBelle, Ibid., p. 75.

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THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1979

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